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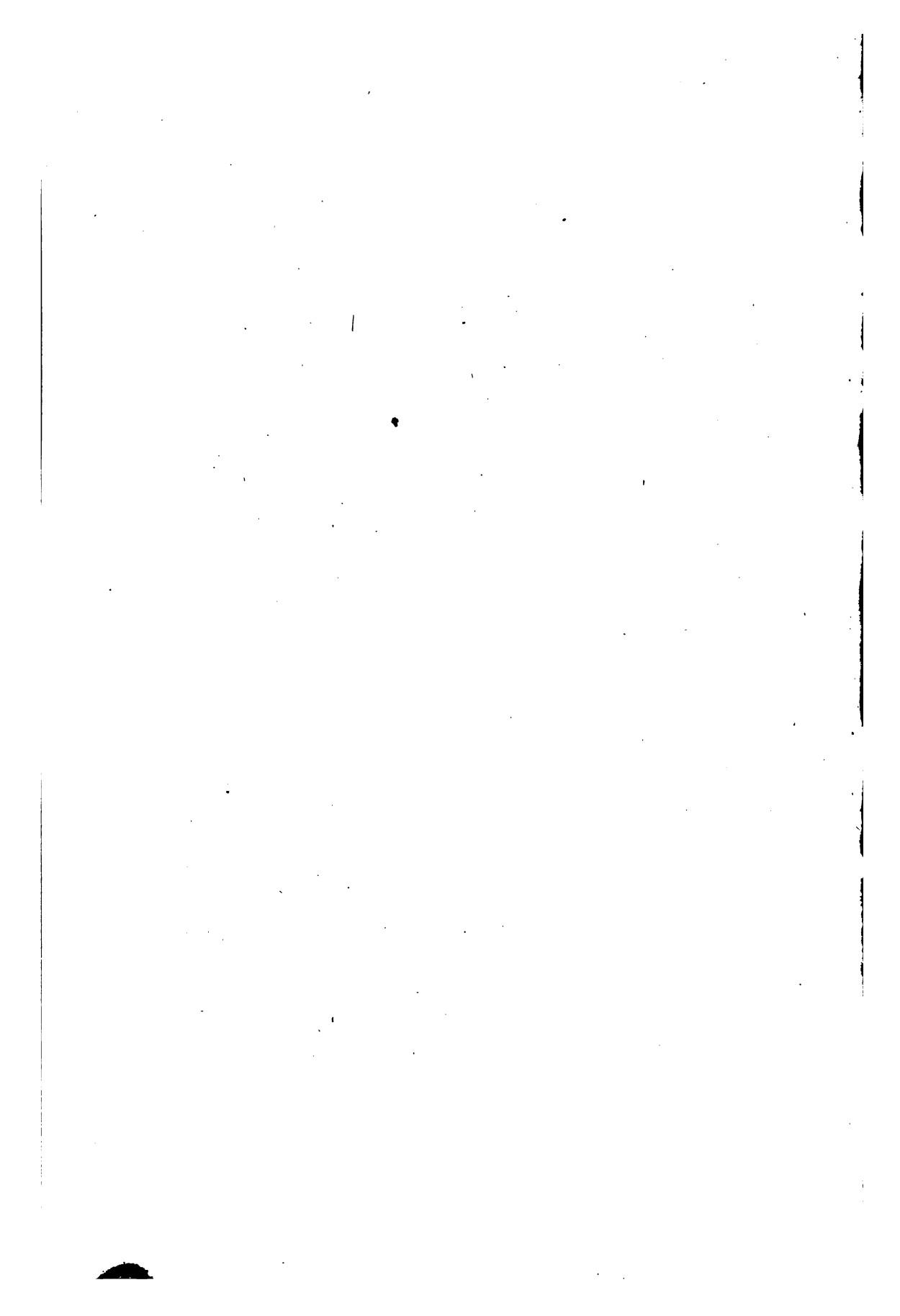
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New-York State Education Department

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS

ANDREW J. HEATHMAN, M.D.

1907

ALBANY, N.Y.

State Education Department

my own point of view. Of course, that has been determined by my reading and my experiences.

I have not been without experiences in politics. They were costly in time and productivity, but perhaps worth while. I do not look back upon those experiences with unlimited satisfaction, but I am grateful for the influences which they have exerted upon my understanding. There are two men, so far as politics is concerned, for whom I am sorry. One is the man in politics who has no other means of getting a living and no other entertainment than the excitement of the political campaign, and the other is the man out of politics who has never had the exhilaration of following a flag, the hilarity of whooping it up for a party ticket, the supreme joy of figuring up the returns on election night and finding that enough saints have, in the course of the day, recorded themselves upon — what seems to him — the Lord's side of the fight.

If there are any men who ought to command our admiration they are the men who are fitted for a profession or a vocation and live, or may easily live, by it and yet are decisive enough to be interested in politics, energetic enough to sustain a party, and capable and patriotic enough to be safe factors in the public service when occasion arises for it. Then if they develop real adaptation to public life they bring great strength to it. They are safer and more successful in the executive offices of the State or in the Legislature than others because they know the outlook and the ways of politics and are familiar with the routine and the atmosphere of official functions. There are altogether too sweeping popular impressions against men who are successful in politics and prominent in public life. As a rule they average quite as honest as other men would in like situation. They have gathered strength and balance out of their experiences. They see the best road more clearly than the inexperienced, and are able to withstand storms which would overwhelm the uninitiated.

Such men are not illogical or unreasonable about subordinate appointments. There are no more generous and wholesouled men in the world. They want to help others. They have been supported by others and the sense of gratitude has been developed with their other senses. The one thing that they can not afford is to be outwitted by other men in politics. It is death to be unable to get plunder which others can get. They have never accepted in its completeness the doctrine that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. Whether it is or not, they do not intend to supply any blood for any such purpose. But they appreciate the

necessity of observing principles and the need of laws quite as well as other people, and if satisfied that these are being executed on the square, and that no hidden advantage is being given to another, they are ordinarily content. It is certainly within the fact that they are more philosophical than other people in quest of a job when disappointed, or that their discontent is better concealed and their grief less persistent. Wherever the factor of personal recommendation comes in, theirs is quite as discriminating and reliable as that of other people.

There have been overwhelming changes about all this in twenty-five years. A friend told me the other day of going to the head of one of the State departments in the early 80's, and asking for a vacant clerkship of a low grade. The answer was: "Young man, this is a political place. If you haven't got the most influence you can't get it." That evidences a state of things which is impossible now. It was possible then only because the public service was, even such a little time ago, primitive. In thirty years the things which the State and the municipalities are expected to do and the number of people who have to be employed to do them, have multiplied overwhelmingly. The growth of the service has created the necessity of going back to basic principles and making laws and regulations for their enforcement.

There are reasons enough why one who comes to the headship of a great department or an important work should have immediate and confidential assistants of his own free choice, so far as may be necessary to his personal comfort, to securing accurate information, and to executing any plans within the terms of his commission. There is no reason why all ordinary positions, capable of classification, which claim competency possible of measurement by known standards and which have no influence over any policies which the head of the department has been set to execute, should become the corrupting stakes of political contests.

And not only the decency and integrity of political parties, but the imperative efficiency, the respectability and the responsiveness of the public service; the rights of all who may be ambitious to enter it; the superior rights of persons of proved competency and adaptability already in it; and the steadily unfolding progress of the State — all are against such corruption.

It is easier to see that and to say it now than it used to be. Indeed, there was not the need of saying it in the earlier and more primitive times. When the need came, it took unusual and convincing foresight and much courage to say it. The men who did

say it were considered prudes and freakish and were visited with sarcasm and ridicule by the hotheaded and unthinking. The refinement and sensitiveness of Dorman B. Eaton, George William Curtis and Carl Schurz suffered keenly because of their convictions and their courage upon this subject. But their names will be familiar after those of multitudes who barked at them are forgotten.

When Senator Conkling, in the memorable Rochester convention of September, 1877, made his quite as memorable declaration that "When Dr Johnson defined patriotism as the last refuge of a scoundrel, he was unconscious of the then undeveloped capabilities and uses of the word 'reform,'" he was shaping a phrase to delight the delegates, but he was illustrating to us the distance between the general trend of the thinking of that day and the well established and accepted policies of our day.

When Senator Ingalls went to the White House and asked President Harrison to turn out a Democrat and appoint a Republican to a postoffice in Kansas, the President asked him how long before the term of the incumbent would end, and the Senator said he thought about three years. "Then Mr Cleveland allowed his Republican predecessor to fill out his term; don't you think we ought to do as well as Mr Cleveland did?" asked the President. "But, Mr President," snapped the Senator, "before you follow Mr Cleveland too much you had better think where Mr Cleveland is now." Yet Mr Cleveland's road led to the White House a second time and the Senator's made a bee line for Kansas.

Between the stinging remarks of these two brilliant senators something had happened which gave introspection and courage to presidents, if not to all senators. In the presidential campaign of 1884 it fell upon me to be chairman of the executive, or campaign committee of the Republican State Committee. You will some of you recall that there was some lack of enthusiasm and hilarity on my side in the week following the election. After it was all over I asked Mr George William Curtis why all of the Civil Service Reform people supported Mr Cleveland, and he told me a story. He said that in the middle of the campaign a hundred of the leaders of civil service reform held a secret meeting in New York. They had become embittered through the indifference of the Republican leaders, were ready to do almost anything, and undecided what to do. It was finally decided that Mr Curtis should communicate with Mr Cleveland, and then advise his associates and they would act upon his advice. He had no acquaintance with Mr Cleveland and determined to write him a letter, which he

intrusted to a mutual friend with the understanding that it should first be shown to Mr Cleveland and then delivered only if he should express his willingness to receive and answer it. The letter was shown to the Governor in his office, in this building, on a hot, August day. Somewhat to the surprise of those concerned, he said at once that he would gladly receive it and if his friend would return in an hour the answer would be ready for him. That answer set all of the influences at the command of the "reformers" into active operation for the Democratic candidate. Everybody knows now that they were sufficient to change the result of the election. Perhaps other interests were sufficient, but this was certainly sufficient. Such a change, from such a cause, was enlightening. It was enough to clarify the outlook of presidents and senators and all the rest of us who were not too obtuse to be in the reckoning.

Mr Dorman B. Eaton, who was for years the president of the National Civil Service Commission, wrote a book upon the civil service system of Great Britain some thirty years ago. At the request of President Hayes he visited England to investigate and report upon the system. He was obliged to do it without being reimbursed for his services or even his expenses by the government. His report was published as a private venture. It was not light reading. It was a long book, closely printed. It was a heavy book, in two senses. I bought and read it. I have just looked it up in anticipation of this address. I read it through, for I find my pencil marks and marginal comments from beginning to end. That was in 1882. The comments are not just what I would make now. Mr President, it was before your commission had been created. I had been chairman of the Republican County Committee of Albany county for three years and was just breaking out the road to the State committee. I do not mind saying that that book is an evidence which I would not now willingly dispense with. Either I was not as bad as I have believed I was in the midst of my youthful political activities, or else I made use of the best means of enlightenment before some older and very much more prominent men than I thought well to do so.

The book made an impression, for it treated in a very able way a very great subject. It is probably within the fact to say that in point of capacity and integrity there is no public service in the world equal to that of Great Britain. At Liverpool, or Halifax, or Melbourne, or Hong Kong, or Singapore, or wherever else the "Union Jack" floats, one may do business with a British officer

who is an honest man and who capably represents the British crown. Perhaps I ought to qualify. You may do business with him—if he is ready. It takes him a long time to get ready. He might remind you of the blunt old lady who, sitting on the middle of a bench in Central park and asked by a young man with his girl to move along so that they might sit together, answered, "No, I won't. New York ain't no place to be accommodatin' in." If he did, it would not be because he dropped the same letters she did, or had her pestiferous feelings, but because his temperament makes him deliberate and his training makes him resistive. In any event, he is part of a great, honest, and uniformly intelligent service. If he could have a little more of bending courtesy, a trifle more of cordial politeness, he would approach the ideal. As it is, he is a good character. He is made a better character because of the pride he has in his service. He puts H. M. S. (His Majesty's Service) upon his engraved visiting cards, and he writes it after his name in the hotel registers with the air of a man who feels that it is an honor to be associated with the British civil service.

The American cosmopolitan character, and particularly the jovial spirit of American politics, puts into the American public service the factors which the English service lacks. But the American service has not yet acquired all of the desirable ingredients which the British service has. It is not so old and, aside from that, it has more to contend with.

The provision in Magna Charta by which the King engaged not to "make any justices, constables, sheriffs, or bailiffs, but of such as know the law of the realm," was the first real stroke at the theory of the feudal kings that all public offices were their personal perquisites and that all appointees must become their personal retainers and supporters. But no one then conceived the extent of the intricacies of modern public service. It was six hundred years after Magna Charta before Great Britain began to take a rational attitude concerning the constitution of the civil service. We separated from her without bringing away any information or any laws or traditions upon that subject, and until real needs and dangers appeared the pioneer life and democratic government in this country were not as favorable to the systematic organization and regulation of the public service here as the economic and political conditions in the old country were favorable to it there.

Our country is a democracy. The British empire is a monarchy—a limited monarchy, it is true, but still a monarchy. Kings and

queens may come and go, but the crown stays in the family and goes on forever. They are never torn up by a presidential election. That is not saying that it would not be better if they were. Their parliamentary elections are far less frequent than ours. And when the control passes from one party to another and a new cabinet results, it has no effect upon the personnel of the civil service. They are distinctly opposed to frequent changes, while we seem to like them. But that is perhaps the least of it. The masses are deliberately kept from thinking that they may enter the public service. The sons of the higher orders are especially trained for that service. All the rest are destined to simple, unofficial employment, if not to personal service. They are in a bad, though rather promising, mix-up over there just now about elementary schools. They have no such universal, common, primary school system as ours. They have universities for the higher classes but the humbler classes do not think of going to them. They do not hear that if they do not go to college they will miss their opportunity in life. There is no system of high schools to connect the elementary schools with the universities. The boys are not told that they have an equal chance with every other boy to get up near the headship of the kingdom. If they were told so it would not be true. Not many are even headed for clerkships. The great body are destined for manual work. They follow their fathers. But they are not troubled about it. They are a capable, substantial, deliberate and contented people, who often have a better time of it and live longer than some of us who are everlastingly scrambling for the mountain peaks of learning and opportunity. That is not saying that it is not better to scramble. It is only proving the point that they have had less to contend with than we in perfecting civil service.

There is no better evidence of the ability of the American spirit to meet difficult questions, and of democratic government to surmount troublesome situations, than appears in the rapid strides which have been made in this country in the growth and the regulation of the civil service. It is a cumbersome, involved, and exceedingly sensitive subject. The interests of the service call for work of widely differing qualities. Men and women are very unlike in their capacity for doing things. That must be sifted out somewhat before the original appointment. Then, officials and clerks are very unlike about learning to do things after they have the opportunity. One becomes very expert, handy, agreeable, helpful and happy. Another grows moody, jealous, subtle, and

troublesome. If rewarded on the basis of merit, the first would go forward rapidly—and the other would go out. But there are endless things in public administration which in justice ought to be done which it is not expedient to do. You must be cautious about favoritism and prejudice. Time often helps you. If time does not settle the matter for you, you had better settle it for yourself, if you can. But the common rights of all citizens, and the legal rights of all in the public service must be absolutely guarded; and the moral rights which one always acquires through honesty, assiduity and real competency in doing things must be recognized also. In some way, specially trained men and women, who are few in numbers and who are not hunting places, must be had for specially expert duties. Graduates of the advanced schools must have due credit for that. The presumptions are in their favor. But the fact that a great many men and women who have never been in college can do a great many things better than a great many men and women who have been to college, must have recognition also. The situations are innumerable and their different shadings utterly beyond the common comprehension.

So far as may be, it is all to be governed by law and regulation. A system of laws and regulations which assumes to do it will be as complicated as the civil or penal code. It must be changed to meet new conditions, and it must be responsive to the growth of the service and the experiences of men and women who want to perfect it. Yet it must not be fickle. There must be substance and steadiness about it. It must stand the test of critical investigation. It must justify itself by its operation. It must accomplish what it undertakes.

Any lack of integrity in the system is absolutely fatal to it. If anybody can tamper with it; if things can be done in the dark which will not stand the light of day; if there are subtleties about it which really help partizanship, and if the men who are set to execute it are not its sincere friends, there is little hope for it. It is an accepted principle of international maritime law that a blockade in order to be binding must be effective. That is, that the law of nations will not allow a power at war to capture a neutral at a blockaded port unless it maintains a blockade which is effective enough to capture or be a real danger to all neutrals. In other words, a nation must do what it pretends, and it must be disposed and able to treat all alike. That principle is as vital in civil service law as in sea-going law. Whatever is undertaken must be efficiently accomplished, the blockade must be effective,

and all in like situations must be treated exactly alike, so far as law and regulation and sound purpose and good judgment can do it.

But again, while the civil service is to be controlled by law, the law is to be interpreted and executed by rational men. It is difficult, often impossible, to make a rule of law to meet all cases. So, in the enlargement and the management of the civil service, arbitrary devices or even set examinations do not meet all situations. Absolute justice as between candidates for appointment or as between associate employees desiring promotion is not possible. If nothing but an inflexible rule, or the ability to pass examinations set by persons who can not know the personal qualities of the candidate, were to govern, justice would often miscarry very widely. All persons charged with the execution of the laws study their purpose and observe their intent. One who does that rationally and sincerely and who can not be pulled around by personal or selfish interests need not be afraid. No censure worth minding falls upon an administrative officer who mixes with the law that guides him the good sense which he ought to have and the genuine intention to gain the law's ends which must be a part of his official equipment.

But the civil service laws go further than that. They expressly confer a wide discretion upon civil service officers and upon appointing officers. They expect all such officers to make liberal allowance for discipline gained in regular study in organized institutions, for actual experience and accomplishment as against the mere ability to pass examinations, for special study for special duties, for expertness in manipulation, for length of service, and for about everything which shows that one person has any real claim to consideration above another. And I am not sure that, with the general acceptance of the essential principles of civil service regulation, and with the fact thoroughly established that there is to be no hidden or unworthy preference given to any one, there will not be quite as much hurt to the service from the disinclination of officers to exercise the discretion which the law reposes in them as from any improper or corrupt stretching of it beyond its proper limits. There are plenty of officials who put responsibilities upon the law which the law puts upon officials. It is a convenient and safe way for the officials, but it often defeats the ends of the law and of administration. To be good laws, the civil service laws, above all laws, must have good executors.

The point of civil service regulations is to guard appointments

against incompetence, partizanship, favoritism and greed, and not to retain unsatisfactory employees in positions. If there is no way of getting a favorite into a vacancy, there is little probability that the vacancy will be created without reason. Common sentiment seems to exact less of an official clerk or messenger in a public office than in private employment. The head of the department who exacts what the manager of a private establishment must exact of employees gets much criticism for it. This is unjust, but it influences official action. If the official expects to bear his responsibility but for a couple of years, he is likely to fail to see a good many things which he will feel obliged to see if this responsibility is to be continuing. But in any event it is far from an agreeable duty to discharge an employee in a public office, and in the absence of the unlimited authority to fill the place there is more likelihood of too much that is wrong being submitted to than there is that there will be any undue exercise of the power of removal.

Discipline, the daily atmosphere which exacts regularity of attendance, aptness for work, responsiveness to authority, cheerfulness and self-respect, responsibility for specific duties and quick accountability, is as important to public service as original appointments or promotions in the service. That depends, not upon benevolent preachments alone, but upon rewards and punishments as well. It would be agreeable if we could feel that all people have correct intentions and character enough to carry them out. It would even be delightful if all the members of a large force of employees would do as well as they know. The larger number will; but the number who will see what kind of stuff their supervision is made of, who will think maneuvering will gain them an advantage, and who will limit their travels in the wrong direction only by the likelihood of their losing their heads, is by no means a negligible quantity. If they can rely upon outside influence to protect them against themselves, the service is broken down, every honest associate in the service is outraged, and they themselves are doomed to mediocrity and to a dependent, hollow, false life. Régime — system — is imperative. It is stronger than individuals; it is the helper and the protection of individuals. It is not easily corruptible and it is not quickly fickle. But it is to be based upon justice and guided by sense. Theory and practice must be consistent; law and administration must cooperate; civil service commissions and executive officers and subordinate employees must all help one another in cheerful submission to a system which

is greater than any of them; and public sentiment must be educated to sustain both public law and public officers, if there is to be any satisfaction in public service and if the high ends of democratic government are to be reasonably or measurably met.

There is no trouble about original appointments to subordinate positions. About all that mere youngsters are good for is to try examinations. All they can ordinarily show is what they can do in passing examinations. Just out of school, they can often do that better than their elders can. It does not prove a great deal — about enough to entitle the best of them to their chance. It is convenient enough for an appointing officer to push a button when there is a vacancy, get the names which stand near the head of the eligible list, look the aspirants over, find that some won't do at all, and that others are getting better than \$30 per month, and finally pick out the one who has come up with his first real opportunity in the world and is anxious to seize it.

As you go on the road, the big potatoes work to the top, the medium ones hold comfortable but not conspicuous places in the middle of the load, and the little ones work out under the tail-board of the wagon. So it is with boys and girls in the public service. There is some difficulty in so arranging it that the ones who are destined for the top can get there as soon as they ought, and so that the ones who must work out under the end board shall accomplish that as soon as may be well, but, happily, they are young and can wait, and what ought to be comes around in some way in its own good time.

When it comes to higher grade positions and to more highly specialized duties, and to older and more expert people who have already had their feet on the ground and accomplished some things, the course is not so clear. Some preference should, in all justice to individuals, and for the highest good of the service, be given to those who are in the line of promotion, have proved their worth in subordinate places, have shown their disposition to make the most of themselves and of their opportunities, and are familiar with routine. How much preference should be given them is a question which none but a sane and true civil service commission is legally competent to determine. Certainly that preference should not go so far as to lead any to think that all must come in at the foot of the service, or that all who do will reach the top if only they outlive all the rest. The factors that give them the right to special preferment must clearly be special and all-round intellectual resourcefulness, special aptness and expertness, and special worth

because of special accomplishments. Every one who has rendered a specially faithful and competent service to his state or city has laid the state or city under some obligation to him, which ought to be regarded when the opportunity for rewarding that service arises. But this can hardly be carried so far as to exclude all the others who may have a broader culture, greater resourcefulness and keener competency gained in study and training in other lines either outside or inside of the public service. Here the examination must be deeper and more specialized, and when it is and allowance is made for things done and for recognized qualifications outside of the ability to pass set examinations, no injustice is likely to be done.

I do not wish to seem to underestimate the value of examinations in the middle grades of the service. If duties are special, they claim some special mastery of a subject. One who has mastered a special field is likely to be able to show it in an examination, and one who has not is likely to reveal the fact that he has not mastered the subject. If he does not remember a particular fact, which may be but ought hardly to be called for in an examination, he can certainly show the extent of his grasp of the subject. If examinations are set to elicit what candidates know, rather than what they do not know, there will be little difficulty. And the ability to write intelligently and intelligibly about what one knows is the best proof of the special knowledge and of the general competency which are equally requisite.

In this connection it may be worth while to inquire why it is not practicable to accept in civil service tests the credits which candidates may have earned in the State academic examinations. Examinations ought not to be unnecessarily multiplied. Each part of the public service may well support other parts, whenever practicable. Work in the secondary schools might, so far as I can see, very well be encouraged by the support which recognition in the public service would give to it. It is not only recognized but required for admission to the colleges and the learned professions. The academic examinations are very well set. We hope that they are to be still better prepared through the management of the State Examinations Board which is just being organized, whose function it will be to make the examinations illustrative of the best teaching and responsive to the latest educational progress. No one questions the integrity of the academic examinations. They are practically universal in the State except in the City of New York and are now to become operative in that city, for the Board

of Education of that city yesterday determined to make them so. The system distinguishes our State. Its results are recognized in all the states. They are accorded good value for all purposes in this State except for admission to the civil service. A State standard good for one State purpose ought to be good for other State purposes at least. These standards represent good and uniformly reliable educational values, better than any others in America outside of the good colleges and universities. They are, I know, having some inevitable bearing upon civil service appointments. Why should they not have complete and legal recognition? It would doubtless lighten the burdens of the civil service examiners and articulate your work with that of the State Education Department in ways which would be to the advantage of all interests that are concerned.

Returning to the subject from which there has been a slight digression, it is submitted that perhaps the most difficult task with which the public service has to deal is the securing of specially trained experts for the highest positions in the service. Very likely the very technical scientific and library work of the State, which is in charge of the Education Department, makes that department peculiarly subject to this difficulty. It frequently happens that we must have specialists like whom there are not many in the nation. We need the best there is. The man whom we want is not looking for a place. He is already in one where he is esteemed, and he is hardly open to negotiations because he does not wish to seem to lightly regard the place where he is, or to disturb his present employers without practical certainty that the way is open to him to go to another place of greater conspicuity, emoluments and usefulness. He does not wish to sign a formal application and he would refuse to submit to a written examination. We have had several situations like this on our hands in the past year, and we have secured the men we wanted through the very cordial sympathy and the very wise course of the State Civil Service Commission, who have employed special examiners of well known standing and complete information of the subject to make ratings of the men who were in the zone of consideration, and available. And doubtless we should not trouble ourselves overmuch so long as things go well, but one can not help wondering what might happen if a less discriminating and courageous attitude should be taken by a Commission. There are not a few instances and many shadings of situations such as I have described which are exceptional and were not contemplated by the civil

service laws, and which must have the help of the Civil Service Commission if the laws and regulations are to level up and not level down.

On the whole, I am glad enough to be able to say freely that I have no adverse comment to pass upon the laws and regulations, and no criticism to make upon the course of the Civil Service Commission. The system, though intricate and involved, seems very complete, and the commission and its officers have evinced every disposition to meet real situations in practical ways. We have clearly had the same purposes and ends in view, and when that is true, discussion and cooperation find the way out.

Indeed, I have some sense of personal obligation. If, since the educational reorganization in this State, it had been necessary for me to measure up the scholarship of all of the employees of the two former departments and of others who wanted appointments, or if it had been necessary to weigh the rival influences which those people might bring to bear, nothing else would have been done and I would have been utterly destroyed in the midst of an impossible undertaking.

It is a pleasure to express very earnestly my estimate of the work of the Commission, in view of the difficulties with which it has to deal, and the allurements, the scarcely disguised coercion, and the subtle temptations which it must resist. It is doubtful if any of the rest of us have so exacting and perhaps so thankless a mission, and none of us, not even the Court of Appeals with all its legal subtleties, or the Superintendent of Public Buildings with all his persistent tribulations, is entitled to so much public gratitude for public service so provocative of ill temper, when it is done with a rectitude and sagacity that produces such a minimum of swearing.

It is a great privilege to engage in the public service of the central state in the Union. It is a great honor and a great responsibility to be trusted with legal authority bearing upon the character and the competency of that service. What New York does other states will do. No state dare turn back from the task of making its public service the cleanest and the best that it can. But a state will go forward only as fast as the civic spirit and conscience gain the strength and find the way to overcome the forces which would debauch and dishonor it, and wake to activity the forces which have good intentions but mighty indifferent ways of giving them effect. It often seems as though a state will go forward upon moral questions only as fast as the dangers menace

and the needs compel. But there is a great satisfaction in the fact that a state never goes back, that it goes steadily forward as fast as the urgent needs of its public life demand, and that when an American community is really aroused and has a chance upon moral questions, it uniformly throws the weight of its conscience upon the right side and breaks out the road for a distinct advance. The opportunities in this State have not been infrequent, and the uplifts have not been few or inconsequential. The outlook is encouraging. The State is doing more things and doing them better than it used to do. In its wealth, physical energy, industrial enterprises, and educational activity, in the spirit, the cleanliness, and the scientific capacity of its professional life, in new and great engineering undertakings, and in the rational freedom and the independent and courageous expression of its thinking, it brings untold advantage to all who have any part in its onward sweep. It is a great honor to have any opportunity to weave a single thread into such a history. Such a thread should not be colored too much by partizanship, and it should not be rotted by any meanness. If one of that kind is put in, it may not stay. Time must be taken to get it out and put in another. Whoever puts in good, clean, strong threads will not claim any return for it. But he will put the Empire State of the Union under obligations to him, and there can be no higher compensation than that.

THE NATION'S RESPONSIBILITIES CONCERNING DEPENDENT PEOPLES

OPENING ADDRESS BY DR DRAPER AS PRESIDENT OF THE LAKE MOHONK
CONFERENCE OF FRIENDS OF THE INDIANS AND OTHER DEPENDENT
PEOPLES, OCTOBER 17, 1906

The business of this conference is to get at the truth and declare the attitudes which ought to be taken by the people and the government of the United States towards those peoples who have become subject to the sovereignty of the Republic without being able to understand the spirit of it or bear a share of the burden of it.

We have not come up here to discuss whether what is written in the histories ought to have happened. We have come to meet serious present day questions with the latest information and the best thinking we can bring to them.

We are to divest ourselves of all prejudices or conceits, even of all social, political, or sectarian partizanship, to the end that we may give to our country a service which shall be distinctly patriotic.

Our generous host has invited us here because he believes that a few of us have special knowledge of the Indians, the Porto Ricans, the Hawaiians, and the Philippine peoples, and because he is assured that all of us would extend more than legal justice—even fraternal and generous help—to all peoples under our flag who must have assistance before they can have any share in the heritage, the philosophy, the burdens, and the joys of the nation. It is safe to say that none has been called or omitted because he lives or is unable to live in a set, because he worships or neglects to worship under the forms of any particular denomination, or because he votes or refuses to vote within the lines of a political party. It is quite as safe to say that no one is here who hates other men only because of their riches, their poverty, their politics, or their religion, and that none is not here because he has alliances and cherishes them, or holds opinions and believes in them very deeply.

In such a conference speech must be free. There need be no fear of conflicting opinions. If one has information he had better tell it. If he has convictions he may well express them. It mat-

ters not what others may know or think. He will set them right, or they will bring him back to the middle of the road. If he "knows things that are not so" he ought to find it out—and probably will. If the discussion is sincere it will not be too forceful. The truth of most worth is hammered out upon the anvil of red hot discussion.

We must have fundamental principles in mind. We must aim at the general policies which ought to be enforced, or the flagrant omissions and abuses which ought to be remedied. We can not have much to do with the details of administration. We can not get snarled up in technical matters which experts ought to be allowed to monopolize; and we can not deal with mere incidents which actual and honest workers are settling in the best way they can.

That every man is entitled to equality of security and of opportunity with every other man is a fundamental principle of the moral law. Our national political philosophy of course declares that. But it goes further. It declares that sound American policy must not only decree equality under the law and assure every one who comes under our flag his chance, but that the strength and security of the nation are promoted by encouraging and aiding, and sometimes by even forcing, people to make the most of their chance. This is a democracy and we have learned that its worth and its strength depend upon the units which have share in it.

The Lake Mohonk conferences have been doing this in the interests of the Indians for twenty-four successive years. They have declared principles which many denied, and stood for policies which appeared impossible, but soon those principles and policies appealed to the sense and the justice of the people and in a little time they grew into the law of the nation.

From this mountain the demands for justice and opportunity for the Indian have gone forth. It was not such justice as strong men or a great people claim as their inherent right, but the nobler justice which unfortunate men and a little and unlettered people must have before they can see the light or have any part in our civilization.

When it has seemed like crying against the wind, these conferences have declared for filling the Indian offices of the government with men who have more than activity in politics to command them, for Indian administration upon the merit basis, for protecting our red children against rapacity and greed, for giving them every penny of public moneys that by any moral law belongs to them,

for using tribal and trust funds to the exclusive advantage of the *cestui que trust*, for the training of the head and heart and hand harmoniously, for schools and compulsory attendance, for unprejudiced standing in real courts, for a real marriage relation, for the division of lands held jointly, for work and the development of industries, for unrestricted trade with others, for rewards for thrift, and punishment for crimes, and for all civic rights and responsibilities.

The Indian question of 1906 is a wholly different question from the one of 1880 or 1890 or even 1900. The commonly accepted thought of the nation steadily becomes nobler, the government support steadily becomes more generous but also more discriminating, and the system of management or administration steadily becomes more exact, capable and responsible. While it is likely that there will be enough to do in the interests of the Indians for an indefinite time, still the assurance is not lacking that the sentiment of the country has been clarified, that the trends are in the right direction, that substantial results are rapidly developing, and that the time which is vital to all large movements in behalf of many people will bring very satisfactory results and give added proof of the competency of a democracy to deal with very troublesome situations.

But the rather promising outlook upon Indian matters is now accompanied by what are undoubtedly more difficult problems in the vast territory and among the millions of undeveloped people for whom we almost unwittingly assumed responsibility when we deliberately took Cuba from the further domination of Spain.

The difficulties seem greater because the numbers are greater. The Indian population is something like 300,000 and the population of the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, and Porto Rico is something like 10,000,000. The difficulties are greater because of remoteness of situation, because of the lack of environment and the infrequency of contact; greater because of more sharply defined physiological differences, of even more thoroughly entrenched superstitions and pagan customs, of yet more completely segregated racial individuality and autonomy; and greater because of their many languages, because so far as any tongue dominates it is one to which the words *democracy* and *liberty* are essentially foreign, and because of the extreme difficulty of imposing upon such a heterogeneous mass the English speech, without which the American spirit and our free and secure civilization can hardly be conveyed in a thousand years.

Great as this burden is, it has been appointed for us. Our national situation and character made it necessary. It has come without our seeking, and in what must be deemed to be the logical progress of the life of the world and the natural unfolding of the plan of the Almighty. We will articulate with any such advance and accept our part in any such plan. Under such conditions nothing is impossible.

Conquest for the sake of empire is repugnant to the thought of the men and women of this country who settle things. It is repugnant because it is idle and because it is wicked. So, too, is any refusal to bear the nation's proper part in the progress of the world. The indefinite continuance under our sovereignty of millions of people who can not share in our sovereignty, without our trying to develop them so that they may have a share in it, would be abhorrent to us, also. We are not accustomed to mere dependencies. Inferior or subordinate peoples are anomalous under our political system. But there are some things we will not do. We will not cast them away because we can not see the end. We will not, for a mess of pottage, trade them with some other nation which has no such outlook or mission as we have come to have in the world. Neither will we enter upon another experiment of enfranchising millions before they can, without danger to themselves and us, carry some part of the burden of governing the world. We will not give them independence until they can be independent. When that time comes it is doubtful if they will want it, but if they do, and their independence will not menace us, they should have it. The question is not the one which confronted us in 1865. But we have nothing to do with that now. The business of the hour is to develop the industrial habits and the moral sense and the political wisdom of these people so that they may be safely admitted into our sovereignty, or may be able to exercise sovereignty and independence of their own. That we must do, or prove that it is impossible, or dishonor ourselves.

We may well believe that our island dependencies are not temporary responsibilities; not passing episodes in our history. We shall have them for a long time after the novelty of the matter has worn off. There seems no reason for confidence that many of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands will be ready for the rights of American citizenship or for independence in the present generation. Therefore, the courses we pursue must anticipate a long run.

Millions of the people we are thinking about live in houses that are not worth five dollars each—even if you are in the market

for shacks. The clothes they wear have not taxed their energy or ingenuity overmuch. The food they eat grows without their help, in untilled fields or in the waters. Neither their sports nor their missionary activities are costly. Every Moro carries a murderous knife — and often they have more wives than knives. Without any knowledge of balanced rights and obligations, they pass their time in loafing and smoking and fishing and cock-fighting, and these occupations are not conducive to such knowledge. In many ways they are without the physical, intellectual and moral qualities found in the American Indian before contaminated by the worthless camp followers of white civilization.

It is not said, of course, that this is true of all, or of nearly all, but it is true of millions of the new peoples who have come under our care. We may well know the worst as well as the best of it. We must be cautious about the reports of officials and workers who are enthusiastic over good works done at single points on the edge of things, as well as about the reports of travelers who get only superficial views and are skeptical about all humanitarian undertakings.

The conference may well emphasize the fact that the United States can not hope to gain any strength or any wealth from such possessions as these. They can bring us nothing but care, expense and responsibility. If, in all good conscience, we do not know that we have a heavy task upon our hands, it would be better if we were out of it. If our generosity, our interest in extending civilization, and our confidence in the power of democratic government to bear its part in the conduct of the world, are not equal to the task, we may better turn back before we come to the point where we will incur greater humiliation. If we do understand that, and if there is fiber in our character and substance in our professions, we can not turn back. But the real situation and the theories which must determine what we are to do can not be too often impressed upon the common sentiment of the country.

The point of equipoise between administration from Washington and administration at Manila and Honolulu and Havana and San Juan is an interesting point which it is very desirable for us to locate. The moral sense of our wards will be developed or blunted by what happens at the official points of contact between us. The sense of justice, the outlook and purposes, the patience and forbearance, the evenness and steadiness and firmness of the civil and military representatives of the United States will have much

to do with the unfolding of moral sense among the unlettered children of the nation.

The readiness and cheerfulness with which their progress is rewarded by admitting them into participation in government, and the firmness with which that is refused, except when they show capacity and reliability, will have something to do with their evolution also.

Before anything else can be done the law must have its way. Security of life and property must be assured. In the beginning that is possible only through the army. And it may probably be said that the army has met its unexpected duty efficiently and with very considerable sense and discrimination.

But aside from the maintenance of order and security, the military power ought not to be much relied upon. It is pleasing to know that there are men in any American regiment who are equal to any moral service, but that agreeable fact must not blind us to the other fact that the experiences, traditions and mental attitudes of the army are such as to forbid its being the instrument, or of its being accepted as the instrument, of much constructive work.

Our own standards must begin to prevail. Law suited to the situation must be enforced. Crimes must be punished, and not only heinous crimes, but petty crimes and misdemeanors. It has long seemed to me that one of the prolific causes of the appalling negro question which is now upon this country appears in the fact that there has been no ready punishment for small crimes. In the Southern States the negro has been taken as a chattel and a joke. Little crimes seem to have been expected and to have gone unnoticed, or at least unpunished. This bred negro irresponsibility and developed a large crop of great crimes. A military tribunal which expresses and exercises force is not apprehensive about little offenses which are outside of and do not affect the military organization. Military authority in civil matters is understood to be but temporary. It must, as quickly as may be, give way to civil courts which will take cognizance of all offenses and have an eye on the long future. It does not seem desirable that military officers continue until native magistrates can be developed, if the process is to be slow. The American civil magistrate may well supplant the American military officer in our dependencies as soon as law can have its sway and order is secure. Then let the native civil magistrate be put in the place as soon as he is prepared for it. But let us profit by our Indian experience and beware of magistrates and courts who make a travesty of justice.

Whenever the flag of the Union is raised in any land it must speedily cast its shadow upon a school. It must be a school which is more than a form or a show. When a school comes to stand for the authority and character of the American people in a remote land, when it becomes the main reliance of all progress, it must be the living expression of the keenest moral energy and the hardest thinking which sprung out of the heart and mind of the Republic. It must be a practical and an adaptable school. It must not be too fast to undo any spiritual tendencies or any established forms of worship which it may find at its door. It must not undertake precipitately to change habits, dress, pastimes, or intellectual traits, so long as moral questions are not involved. It must not be organized upon a basis of expense common in the thrifty towns of the United States. It must know that the school and its constituency must be adjusted to each other if there is to be any enduring service, and that the school will have to do much of the adjusting to have it so. Above all, it must know that the only lasting training of any worth that one ever gets he gets through doing things; that one is never likely to be of much account who does not know the satisfaction of earning his bread in the sweat of his brow, and that any intellectual or moral advance which men and women ever make comes through the purpose and the power, not to break or to destroy, but to construct and to accomplish things.

What has been done in the way of opening schools has been well done. It was about the first thing the people thought of. It was an inspiration to see a capable superintendent and a thousand teachers start from the States upon the instant to carry the American system of common schools to unknown millions in far away lands. But it is almost impossible to make effective schools among an uninterested or antagonistic people. How primitive and inchoate these schools must be! They must be thoroughly adapted. They must be related together in a cohesive system. They must endure after the novelty has worn off. The people must be brought to accept them and support them, and then have pride in them. As quickly and as generally as may be, they must be taught by native teachers.

It is said that a hundred Filipino boys are distributed among our American universities — mostly among the state universities where there are colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. It is said that they are bright and I have it from the university authorities that they do well. Doubtless the brightest boys are sent. They ought

to be. This is copying Japan. Japan has a general and effective system of elementary schools, with a very good system of advanced schools. We can not have one without the other. Japan secured both by inducing the most experienced American educationists to go to Japan and plan a school system, and by sending the most promising Japanese boys to American and European universities. If these Filipino boys do as well as the Japanese boys did, we will in thirty years have an educational system which has really taken hold of things in the Philippine Islands.

I have a good deal of confidence that it would be well to put the management of educational matters in charge of the United States Bureau of Education. That bureau always has a good man at its head. It has a staff of trained educational experts. It knows all about educational activities in all parts of the world. It has nothing to do with politics. It has none too much business. The United States has no control over education in the States. There is some satisfaction about that. It is nice to have the United States say "please" to us, when we find our poor hands in the mouth of the federal lion so often. But the United States must look after schools in the territories and the dependencies. The Bureau of Education is its natural instrument. I am skeptical about leaving educational administration wholly to insular commissions. The time may come when there will be a motive for political meddling with the appointment and the salaries of teachers. We have a long, delicate, heavy task before us if we are to make a comprehensive and an enduring school system in our island possessions which is ever to be capable of getting up power enough to run under its own steam. The best administrative organization, adaptable courses of instruction pedagogically arranged, continuity and steadiness of operation, the fullest training and supervision of teachers, freedom from partizanship, and an earlier and closer intimacy with the educational work of the world will be assured if the management of it is imposed upon the United States Bureau of Education.

The enlightenment of a people can not be wholly left to government. There are many things desirable in education which the state can not do. A good public school must be embellished and enriched by the things which an interested constituency will do for it. Private schools should always be the welcome associates of public schools. Wherever there is a school there must be a church. And no matter how many schools or churches are established they must be accompanied by voluntary evangelistic work.

In a word, religion is education. Churches and ministers have quite as much to do with the development of the Philippine Islands as have schools and teachers.

This brings us to a subject of prime importance which is so involved as to make the wisest hesitate. Yet it seems to me that it claims the attention of the conference. It can not be ignored because it is difficult. With much interest in it, I have no right to have any very confident opinion about it.

The facts seem to be that for centuries so much of the islands as was Christian was Roman Catholic. No other Christian denomination was there. This church was there in great strength and efficiency. Its system and ceremonies were suited to the people. Millions adhered to it. It was mixed up with an unworthy movement. The mixing of church control with a good government is bad; with a bad government it is vicious and unthinkable. History repeated itself. The priesthood became widely corrupted. Imposition and outrage followed. This was met by pretty nearly successful revolution. When we set up a government that could govern, our troops released hundreds of priests from prison. The situation attracted the attention of the world and aroused the resentment and reformatory action of the authorities of the Roman Catholic church. Clarified and reinvigorated, its religious reign is again very firmly established, not only in the towns but wherever in the wilderness its priests can go. Its mission work is aggressive and apparently much better than any other that is there. It quickly engages the devotion of a people to whom its solemn ceremonies, its beliefs, and its administrative methods are especially adapted.

We have happily invented a political system in this country which enables us to live together in reasonable peace notwithstanding our many religious denominations. Our fathers in the old countries, or even in this country in the pioneer days, would not and could not do so well. They were a simpler people with a simpler faith and did not need so many sects to accommodate their theological differences. But they stood ready to fight, and did fight, for what they thought. We have learned that it is not worth while and that others have the right to think and pray as they please. Can we expect more of our primitive peoples in other lands than it was possible for our own fathers to have done? Our Protestant denominations are assuming to contest the ground, but in comparison with the work of the Roman Catholic church their progress is not a delight to us. It seems to be the fact that the Protestant denominations have agreed upon some division of

territory so as to avoid conflicts with one another so far as may be, but there is no possibility of avoiding rivalry with the Church of Rome in any part of our insular territory. I can not help wondering if it is worth while. The people of the Philippine Islands will hardly need variety of sects to accommodate their theological thinking for a long time. If they ever need them they will know how to have them. Denominations will multiply in the natural order of things as fast as they are needed. There is special reason why any missionary work which assumes to express the American spirit and any churches which come to represent the attitude and strength of the Protestant churches in the Philippine Islands shall do it thoroughly and adequately. I have none but Puritan blood in my veins, but I no longer fear that any church will subvert American political institutions. I think that the Roman Catholic church will become more thoroughly adaptable to American political institutions by giving it American confidence. No one can doubt its spirituality or its patriotism. I am in favor of Protestantism wherever it can be self-sustaining, and am in favor of all denominations where the thinking of the people calls for them, but I do not fear to express my misgivings about the wisdom of the policy which forces sectarianism upon an unlettered people, which taxes weak churches in America to support weak churches in our island possessions, with no prospect of those churches becoming self-supporting, while one strong church is on the ground, continues to occupy it forcefully, and is evidently adapted to the situation.

But we are not to rely exclusively upon either schools or churches. They are quite as often the product as the producers of civilizations. What poor people want is more money and capacity to find the point of equipoise between keeping and using it. If the money does not develop the capacity, nothing ever will. Quite as much depends upon new forms of native industry, or better opportunities for expanding such as they now have in the islands, as upon any other one thing. We can not say too often that work is the tonic for physical, mental, and moral health. Work brings money as well as health. The love of money may be the root of all evil, but money itself is the cause of much good. It buys everything. It is clearly understood. It gives every live man a motive. Motives work wonders. Idle people will often bestir themselves if a motive is in sight. It is hard for unlettered and isolated people to put their labor into channels which will bring returns. They can not get their resources into goods and their goods into

markets. They need help, and such help is very potential. People are imitative. If a man raises a crop or makes an article that sells for money, his neighbors go about it. Out of the wits and the money which result from their work they make better homes and then they put their heads and their means together and create institutions.

These islands are likely to have rich possessions of precious metals. They are not without precious stones. They certainly have very considerable agricultural potentiality. They have many woods of great strength which take a beautiful dressing and might find ready markets in America at a time when our native woods are becoming scarce and our markets are seeking novelties. Their mechanics seem exceedingly crude but the people appear teachable and evidently have their share of mechanical gift. They certainly make some very delicate lace and relatively large quantities of very beautiful textile fabrics. The men in their prisons make very satisfactory household furnishings, and the men who are not in the prisons ought to be able to do so. There seems to be no limit to the islands' industrial possibilities. What they need is inspiration and incentive.

So far as our law assumes to affect trade, it should favor these people. So far as we make tariffs to regulate the prices of commodities, they should be helpful to insular trade. At no point of competition should any advantage be given to interests which are no longer in their infancy and are quite able to take care of themselves without the protection of the giant arm of the state. Capital should be encouraged to venture in the industrial development of the islands. Everything should be done to open them up to the people of this country. This involves federal legislation. The sentiment of the country is filled with generosity to our wards, and Congress should adequately and always express it. The implications need not be taken too seriously. Congress has been doing very well of late. No matter who or what has caused it. We tender it the expression of our respectful consideration, in the hope of other favors yet to come.

We shall be together but three brief days. Let us lose no time in getting into the heart of the business that has brought us here. Let us get at the facts. Let us go into whatever we may think of that bears upon the facts; and when discussion shall have brought our minds together let us declare, with all boldness, what we think.

The Lake Mohonk Conferences carry no sword. They have

no compulsory process, no police, or sheriff, or national guard, or regular army. But let no one fear that they are without force. They have helped the Indians: they will help them more. They will help the Filipinos, and the Hawaiians, and the Porto Ricans, and perhaps the Cubans. They have enriched the quality of white civilization by helping it to be both just and generous to red men, and brown men, and yellow men, and black men. They have gathered up, quickened, and declared that public opinion which, as Talleyrand said, is more powerful than any monarch that ever lived. They have rendered a distinct service to democratic institutions and to the sovereignty of the United States, for they have helped them to be beneficent as well as powerful, and thereby show their right to be.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS AT CORRESPONDING CONFERENCE

OCTOBER 23, 1907

Mr Smiley and Ladies and Gentlemen: Year after year, twenty-five times, the keen interest which the proprietor of this estate has had in all unfortunate men and women has brought this conference to its gracious hospitality in order to promote the good of the American Indians. Since the war with Spain for the rescue of Cuba the discussions of the conference have extended to the millions of people who came under the sovereignty of the United States as the result of that conflict.

At one of our sittings we shall hear from the secretary of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners about the influence of these twenty-five meetings in stirring Indian sentiment, shaping Indian legislation, and reforming Indian administration. Following my brief introductory words we shall have from Mr Francis E. Leupp, the altogether admirable United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, some of the interesting details of Indian progress under the better laws and better administration which, it is not too much to say, have largely resulted from the discussions under this roof. And now, and in each succeeding year, we shall expect to hear from officers, agents, teachers, missionaries, and other workers in the Indian service, about the difficulties they encounter and the work they are doing. We shall at all times be anxious to give attention, sympathy, and encouragement to all such and to make any

declarations to the public which may serve substantial ends. But it seems as though the Indian problem has been practically solved so far as general policies are concerned, that it is now almost wholly a matter of administration, and that we may well begin to make the people of our new dependencies the subject of our most serious discussions and of our aggressive declarations.

The Philippine problem has come to be the problem of pressing concern to us. There are more people in the Philippine Islands than in the State of New York — perhaps twenty times more than the Indian population ever was. The conditions are hard and the outlook uncertain. It is a hard matter to have such a mass of unlettered, semisavage, or wholly savage people under our flag, without the possibility of assimilating them as we do the millions who come to us from other lands, and with some inevitable doubts about their ever being able to govern themselves. We are coming to the serious stages of the undertaking and the problem looms even larger than at first. The sober second thought sees that the practical difficulties are heavier, that the moral responsibilities are higher, and that the possibility of substantial results in world progress are more open and unique than at first appeared. It sees also that the reflex influence upon the people and the international standing of the United States, as well as upon world respect for popular government and the coming course of world events, is to be much greater than was at first realized.

It seems to me idle to discuss whether we made a mistake in getting the Philippine Islands upon our hands. They *are* upon our hands. Time spent in wondering whether we ought not to back out of the responsibility, or ought not to sell them, or barter them, or give them away, is time worse than wasted. Aside from that practically universal national pride which will never, without convincing reasons, relinquish any territory that has once come under the sovereignty of the United States, there is a national conscience among us which has some concern about the good faith of governments, and will not give over to utter hopelessness, or abandon to any nation less disposed and less able to promote their best good than ourselves, any dependent people for whom we have once assumed responsibility. And there is no other nation better able to bear the burden, and more unselfishly disposed to do so, than we are.

Nor will the people of the United States seek an arrangement with the great powers by which the Philippine Islands may, like Switzerland, become neutral territory and left to themselves. When

the clear majority of the Filipinos show the capacity for building institutions which the clear majority of the Swiss have long possessed, the suggestion will not be repugnant to our sensibilities, but there will then be no point in it.

There is but one thing to do, and that is to turn a deaf ear to the waverers and go right ahead with the load which we have taken upon ourselves. And we will do it better if we know that we shall not get any shillings for carrying it, and that the road is likely to be so long that none of this generation is likely to see the end of it.

Of the spirit and the acts of the executive officers of the government, so far as I know, there can be no words but those of commendation. McKinley started nobly when he said, "The Philippines are ours, not to exploit, but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government. This is the path of duty which we must follow or be recreant to a great trust. The question is not, will it pay, but, will we do what is right?" He acted up to what he said. President Roosevelt has been in entire and enthusiastic accord with the ideal attitudes of his lamented predecessor. What Roosevelt has said has been admirably said and when he induced McKinley's Governor General of the Philippines to become the head of the War Department, because through the military occupancy that department had come to be charged with Philippine administration, and he could thereby bring to his own council table and into the position of largest influence upon Philippine affairs the man best informed and most trusted upon those affairs, he did quite as much as he could do in any way to promote the realization of McKinley's and the country's best hopes.

The information which we get about Philippine matters comes through the officers of the army and navy, through missionaries and teachers, and through occasional travelers. In its parts it is tinged by inevitable bias. As a whole it is often confusing and conflicting. Sometimes a poor little fact is dressed up in such literary clothes to get it into the society of the magazines that it must be wholly unable to recognize itself. The government reports are ponderous, unsystematic, lacking in continuity, poorly indexed if indexed at all, and therefore not very helpful even to one seeking information: to the masses they are inexplicable.

The following essential facts are much condensed from a recent article, having the earmarks of reliability, in the *New York Tribune*. Under Spanish rule the Filipino had nothing to say about government, either local or general. If he went to church it was to one

ruled by the State, and often corruptly. Under American rule the municipal officers are elected by the people, and the provincial officers are so elected, except the Governor, who is chosen by the municipal councils who are themselves elected by the people, and the Treasurer, who is appointed by the Governor General. The people have just elected a popular assembly which, with the commission appointed by the President of the United States, will constitute a congress for the islands. The justices of the peace, more than half of the circuit judges, and three out of seven justices of the Supreme Court are natives. So is the Attorney General and practically all of the states' attorneys. There is a native police of 6000 men, many of whose officers are natives. The law and the judicial system assure practically every right guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. Churches are encouraged by government, but are neither supported by nor under the control of the state. Under Spanish rule it is said there were 200,000 children enrolled in some kind of schools, and that the average daily attendance was half that number. Now there are 500,000 enrolled, with an average attendance of 270,000, in much better schools. The general government is spending \$2,400,000 per annum for schools besides what is expended by provincial and municipal governments. The government maintains 200 pupils in the schools of the United States. The exports and imports have increased something like 50 or 60 per cent. In eight years the public improvements,—buildings, harbor improvements, lighthouses, roads and bridges, and vessels for public service,—have aggregated something like \$20,000,000. The harbor of Manila is said to be the best in the Orient. Under government encouragement, but hedged about by safeguards, there have been constructed sixty miles of electric road and a good lighting system at Manila, and in the same way the railway mileage in operation in the islands has risen from 120 to 205 miles, and 709 miles of new road are in process of construction.

If these statements are true, they certainly form the outlines of a picture which is both heroic and heartening. It is none the less so because not conclusive of the whole matter, or because many of the details of the picture are not up to the expectations of some who are not experienced in such undertakings. Of course the whole subject, outlines and details, needs informing and patriotic discussion. There are many in the country, no doubt there are some here,

who are skeptical about one phase or another of our policies in the Philippines. Certain kinds of skepticism are often healthy. This is a good place for such as you to express doubts, because one may have them taken out of him and another may make a valuable contribution to the judgment of all.

Aside from the training of Filipinos in religion and morals, which is outside of the government functions and accepted by the religious denominations, and which will naturally have the thought of the conference, there are three phases of government policy in the Philippines which suggest themselves to me as deserving our discussion. These relate to political privileges, to secular education, and to industries.

As to giving political privileges, we are, for obvious reasons, disposed to go much further than other great nations who have had to deal with similar questions. Perhaps we may be disposed to go too far. These people are not like our fathers before the American Revolution. There may be a golden mean between the extremes. Political privileges already conferred are sufficient proof of the desire to give all that may be safely exercised; and if the fact that less than two per cent of the population voted at the recent and first general election for a popular assembly, and that those who did were clamorous for independence without appreciating its responsibilities, is not wholly discouraging, it certainly admonishes us to hesitate about going further at once or about making promises. It is manifest enough that for a long time self-government must be very local and simple, and that the possibility of the safe exercise of sovereignty by the islands at an early day is quite out of the question.

The adaptation of schools to the needs of the situation is likely to be a much more difficult matter than many would at once suppose. American schools may not be of the most service to an Un-American people, and certainly Filipino schools can not be locally supported and administered to the extent that American schools are. Quite as certainly, the greatest weakness which we are coming to realize in our American system will count even more heavily against them than us. While we are bound to hold out to every one his equal chance, we will do well if we encourage young Filipinos to be *workmen* rather than lawyers, and doctors, and engineers, and promoters of enterprises, and managers of other Filipinos. There will be enough

who will get into the professional employments and the managing positions without our telling them that they will come short of their deserts and miss their opportunities if they do not. Universal attendance within fixed ages and an exact elementary training ought to be made the fundamental factors in the Filipino schools. We may learn much from our near neighbor in the East, Japan, about this.

Filipino industries claim the best attention of the government. No people can have a life worth the having unless they have some understanding of the economic, moral, and social value of work. And hardly can any people be expected to have such an understanding unless work makes money and is convertible into what money will buy. The industrial problem in the Philippine Islands must, very likely, be always and necessarily a difficult one. It has been doubly so by reason of exceptional occurrences since they came under our sovereignty. If there is to be any American aid to Filipino industries, congressional legislation must open the way for and not hinder it. Federal officers must be led to concentrate their study upon the subject, and, having done so, they must be expected to take definite public attitudes, and, having done this, they must be listened to. The simple industries which will contribute to better living must be encouraged through better implements and improved methods. And other industries which will find or develop markets must be studiously ascertained and methodically introduced by government action and, if need be, by liberal government aid. The amount of money we spend in the matter is of little account so long as it is honestly expended and really leads to self-supporting industries. We are not in this business for commercial gain, and unless there is moral gain we ourselves shall be disgraced, if not debauched, by it. A tariff against insular products for the real purpose of affording superior profits to home industries that are no longer in their infancy is abhorrent to the good conscience and overwhelming opinion of the American people. The Philippine industries are now "home industries" quite as much as any other industries and the circumstances claim for them not only equal terms but any preference which their existence and reasonable prosperity may require. There are some people who do not see things which they do not want to see unless they are told in particular ways. If party managers who control these things continue to turn a deaf ear to the gentle voices

which are now protesting, they will find that many objectors will join forces and they will hear from enough people in a way that will be entirely intelligible to them. Not only the revenue tariffs but every other instrumentality of the general government is expected to be used in uplifting the people of the Philippine Islands. McKinley's thought must be carried out. The members of Congress talk most entertainingly, and no doubt genuinely; but congressional action is often so very different from the congressmen whom we know. There is the rub. The Washington departments and both houses of Congress, as to everything but the coming elections, have come to be the most easily resistive machines in all history.

For myself alone, I have doubt about making the War Department the essential and permanent Washington instrument of insular administration, and it is not relieved even by the qualities and the experiences of Secretary Taft. It was natural enough at the beginning because it was then military administration almost exclusively. Perhaps it was well. Possibly it saved us from purely partisan administration. The military service, as President Eliot points out, is one for protection and not instruction, and it seems as though the essential work we are to do in the Philippines will be more quickly done without any unnecessary control by the military establishment.

We do not overlook little Porto Rico, or our good friends in the Hawaiian Islands. The problem with them is by no means so large. Before the conference is over you will doubtless know that the Hawaiian people are abundantly able to speak for themselves. And both of these peoples will quickly get the benefit of any insular policies which the overwhelming situation in the Philippines may induce.

In a concluding word, the millions of Filipinos who have come under our care will move out of the darkness and into the light more quickly when it is fully realized that whether they do it or not depends alike upon themselves and upon the people of the United States; that the process is essentially a moral one and the task upon us is one of the world burdens which our own advance has brought to us; that legislation which is not framed upon altruistic lines will not serve any good purpose for them or for us; that efficient administration must have very special reference to the things to be done, and expert opinion must have the respect and the influence which belong to it; and that over all there must be definite, responsive and reachable accountability. And there is reason enough

to question whether it is not desirable that there be an independent office at Washington which will have specific and pretty independent charge of insular affairs, which will have power to do things and the right to be listened to, which will be charged with full knowledge about dependencies in general and the Philippines in particular, and which will not only be established upon a legal footing that will enable it to be independent of all meanness if it is willing to be, but, above all else, will be under the direct influence of the better spirit of the American people.

WHAT NEXT ABOUT UNION UNIVERSITY?

ADDRESS BEFORE UNION UNIVERSITY AT ODDFELLOW'S HALL, ALBANY,
ON UNION UNIVERSITY DAY, MARCH 7, 1907

Mr Chancellor:

I rise to make this address with something more in mind than the official obligation which requires that I be interested in all colleges and do what I may to extend all learning. The history of this old college and of these professional schools associated in Union University—of one of which I am myself a graduate,—the marks which these institutions have already made upon the intellectual and particularly the professional development of the country, the fact that in a special sense they are the institutions of my home people, and an understanding resulting from my later year experiences of what these institutions deserve and of what the future of this people demands, fill me not only with a warm appreciation of your courtesy but also make me sensible of considerable temerity in accepting it.

There are not many colleges in America which date back to the eighteenth century and those which do are to be held in special honor. Union College is one of them. In 1779 petitions signed by a thousand citizens of Albany, Tryon and Charlotte counties were presented to the Governor and Legislature in these words:

“Whereas a great number of respectable inhabitants of the counties of Albany, Tryon (Montgomery), and Charlotte (Washington), taking into consideration the great benefit of a good education, the disadvantages they labor under for want of the means of acquiring it, and the loud call there now is, and no doubt will be in a future day, for men of learning to fill the several offices of church and state; and looking upon the town of Schenectady as in every respect the most suitable and commodious seat for a seminary of learning in this State, or perhaps in America, have presented their humble petition to the Governor and Legislature of this State, earnestly requesting that a number of gentlemen may be incorporated in a body politic who shall be empowered to erect an academy or college in the place aforesaid, to hold sufficient funds for its support, to make proper laws for its government, and to confer degrees.”

While it was proposed to call the college Clinton College after the doughty old warrior and statesman who was the first governor of a state which was then only a year old there is no doubt whatever about this being the germ which sixteen years later took corporate form in Union College.

Let us recall how far away that movement was and the stirring condition in which it developed. But twenty-five years before, the first convention to consider the matter of forming a colonial confederacy with twenty-five delegates representing seven colonies, with a resulting plan of union that was rejected by the King because it was too democratic and by the colonies because it was too autocratic, had met in this city. Some of the same men were in both movements. Only three years before independence had been declared and only a year before the state government had been organized. It was upon the same ground and close upon the heels of the most comprehensive, strategic, and disastrous campaign of the British in the Revolution. Sir Henry Clinton from the lower Hudson, St Leger from across Lake Ontario and through the valley of the Mohawk, and Burgoyne from the St Lawrence, along Lake Champlain and the upper Hudson, had undertaken to join forces right here and end revolution in America. General Schuyler, who instead of Gates was entitled of right to receive the sword of Burgoyne, was the best friend and the largest contributor to the movement for the new college and the very people who had had most to do with turning Clinton back to the sea, with dispersing St Leger's regulars, Canadians, and Indians at Oriskany, and with capturing the entire army of Britain's most arrogant general at Saratoga, were the supporters of it. They had cleared the ground and opened the way for it. 1779 was the year of Wayne's brilliant feat of arms at Stony Point. It was the year of John Paul Jones and the Bon Homme Richard. It was the year of Sullivan's sanguinary campaign against the Indians in the Wyoming valley, and it was the year in which George Rogers Clark, with a little army that made up in daring what it lacked in numbers, appeared at the old fort at Kaskaskia on the upper Mississippi in the midst of a night's revelry and gallantly told the British officers and their ladies that they could go on with the dance but it would be well for them to know that from that point it would be under the Virginian and not the English flag.

The ground upon which Union College was planted was still a dangerous frontier. There was hardly a border line between it and the subtle and savage Iroquois. Schenectady was then and

for thirty years later a part of the county of Albany. Tryon was the present county of Montgomery with the territory to the west and south, and Charlotte was what is now the county of Washington and beyond. There was or had been but one college in New York territory, and that had been suspended by the war. The idea clearly was to establish a college for the "Northern and Western Counties" in anticipation of the development of the State to the westward and at a point which would in time become central. New England emigration was even then setting towards the Susquehanna and even the Genesee countries. The rising tide of state and national life was beginning to run strongly and the time was confidently expected when the seat of the college would be near the center of an opulent and imperial state.

The State was then so young and unversed in the new political theory that no one seems to have been very clear about the methods of exercising the authority of the commonwealth in the creation of a college. It seems reasonable to believe that the movement for the new college, deferred from obvious necessity, led to the careful consideration and — five years later and as soon as independent statehood and nationality were officially declared — to the creation of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, with power to charter and supervise schools and colleges.

In the petition to the Board of Regents in 1795, which resulted in the charter for the college, mention is made of another petition for the college at Schenectady, signed by 1200 of the people living on the border land of civilization, and presented to the Legislature in session at Kingston in 1782. The entire population of Schenectady by the State Census fourteen years later was less than 3500, but few as they were the inhabitants of the town proposed to give the college something like £8000 sterling. Not much more is known of this phase of the movement.

In 1785 the citizens of Schenectady by mutual agreement established a private academy in their midst, which was the real organized beginning of Union College.

In 1791 the managers of the academy appealed to the Legislature for a grant of land in the Oneida Indian Reservation in order to get the means which would support their application to the Regents for incorporation of a college. But the obdurate Legislature apparently thought that the Indians might have rights above those of the proposed college to those lands.

In 1792 the managers of the academy prayed the Regents for a

college charter, admitting that they lacked necessary funds but asserting that the endowment was promised but could not be made over until there was a corporation which was legally competent to hold the same. The Regents were unable to locate a particular moment when the essential conditions precedent to the granting of a charter would present themselves under that plan with sufficient clearness to permit of their granting the request according to law. It was another case of Lincoln's Mississippi steamboat which had such a large whistle and such a small boiler that if it whistled it couldn't run and if it ran it couldn't whistle. New York under its Board of Regents has uniformly been much more exacting than any other state about requiring the means with which to maintain a college before giving it corporate life. Although the Regents had never yet had the pleasure of chartering a college they were skeptical and heroic enough to refuse the application. But the next year they did charter the private academy as a public academy of the State. Yet again, early in 1794, the Regents refused an application for a charter because of the "low state of literature and of funds in the institution." It is not to be inferred that they were unsympathetic or disinclined, and as several of the earliest and strongest friends of the proposed college were members of the Board of Regents it is quite apparent that they were ingeniously predisposed, to aid the enterprise more wisely than by prematurely granting a charter. In the next year, 1795, the charter was granted by the Board.

The year 1795 was a year of considerable educational import in the affairs of New York. It was the year in which the Legislature of this State passed the first American statute making a liberal appropriation for the development of a State system of common schools and requiring all districts to raise amounts equal to their distributive shares. And the coincidence between this act and the chartering of the college was followed by another, ten years later, when an act for the liberal support of the college by the State and the act for establishing the State common school fund went through the Legislature together.

All the prominent men of the State were in the movement. The names of Van Rensselaer, Oothout, Romeyn, Schuyler, Clinton, Ten Eyck, Van Slyck, Van Dyck, Schermerhorn, Vedder, Yates, Ten Broeck, Duane, Saunders, Wyckoff, Vrooman, Fonda, Banyar, Vlecker, DeWitt, Taylor, DeGraff, and many others are conspicuous.

The distinguishing marks of this movement deserve attention.

At a meeting of the trustees of the academy, which was a fore-runner of the college in the wilderness, held in 1794, it was resolved "that public utility, liberality of sentiment, and *entire exclusion of all party whatsoever* ought to be attended in forming a plan for a college." And at a later meeting held by these trustees with a "number of gentlemen of information in the city of Albany" in furtherance of the project, it was resolved that "A majority of the board of trustees shall never be composed of persons of any one particular religious denomination" and that "No president or professor of the college, being a minister of the gospel, shall take upon himself or hold the pastoral charge of any church or congregation." The charter itself provided that no law or rule of the college "should exclude any person of any religious denomination whatever from equal liberty and advantage of education, or from any of the degrees, liberties, privileges, benefits or amenities of the said college on account of his particular tenets of religion." I am not laying any implication against the denominational college. I am only pointing out that there was a college with new and distinguishing attributes in America. Twelve colleges had already come to considerable repute in America but none of them had provided for religious differences and the training of all the men of a state who should go to college, which was the ideal at which this movement aimed. Indeed, the word "Union" did not refer to the "more perfect union" of the states which had been accomplished in the federal Constitution but six years before, as might be supposed, but to the union of all parties and religious sects in an up-state movement for the higher learning.

The predominant thought in the establishment of Union College clearly was that it should not be denominational, but quite as much that it should not be private, local or exclusive in any other sense. It came as near being the State college as the obscure educational and democratic outlook of the times would permit. The charter was signed by George Clinton as Chancellor, and DeWitt Clinton as Secretary of the Regents of the University. Of the twenty-three original trustees of the college, seven resided in Albany, six in Schenectady, three in Ballston, and in Saratoga, Troy, Kinderhook, Palatine, Herkimer, and Whitestown, N. Y., and Hackensack, N. J., one each. In 1806 the number was reduced to twenty-one and the Chancellor and justices of the Supreme Court of the State and all the elective state officers were added. Once the State provided funds for it upon condition that the

Regents should thereafter appoint the trustees, and the college wisely accepted the condition. Amendments to the State Constitution have twice worked changes in the State officers who are *ex officiis* trustees of the college, but in a hundred years the college has never been without them. The *ex officiis* trustees are now the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Secretary of State, Comptroller and Treasurer.

The students were widely distributed. The register of graduates of the first half century at the semicentennial anniversary in 1845 contains the names of 398 graduates of whom but 38 were residents of Schenectady.

But there was even more than this to give the first college chartered by the State the flavor and attributes of a state college. In his jubilant letter to Dr Romeyn announcing the granting of the charter, General Schuyler authorized the trustees to put him down for another hundred pounds, and added, "I shall strive to procure a donation on the part of this State and as I have already conversed with some leading members on the subject I trust my efforts will be successful." They were. Schuyler was not only a soldier idol, but he was also a man of wealth, of social distinction and of conspicuous political sagacity and influence. He had a large estate in lands and had carried on a vast mercantile business. His wife was a Van Rensselaer, and his daughter was the wife of Hamilton. He had been one of the first two United States senators chosen by the State; he was now a member of the State Senate and of the Board of Regents, and before his frail body was to find rest in our Rural cemetery he was again to go to the federal Senate. There was reason enough why the energy of such a man should bring State aid to the college. It did. In 1795 the Legislature granted \$3750, in 1796 \$10,000, in 1797 \$1500. In 1805, \$45,000 was derived from lotteries authorized by the State, which were then held proper enough, and following an act of the Legislature in 1814 some \$300,000 was received in the same way.

Here was a college coming rapidly into the full estate of a state college. It was the offspring of the freest democracy of the times. There was no exclusiveness about it. Its doors swung to the masses. It was accepted by the people of the State. The State was not only aiding it but was giving money for the particular purpose of meeting the expenses of poor students. The old idea that a college is to come down from above and is to be the exclusive instrument of wealth, was just beginning to be shaken with the knowledge that a college can be pushed up from below, can

be born of political power as well as of wealth, and can become the efficient instrument of the masses. The idea of a state college was not new and it was not peculiar to New York. It was the logical outworking of democracy and nationality. It resulted, in considerable measure, from the French influence in our affairs. It was incubating and perhaps hatching in other states. It brought the able and the wealthy into cooperation with the poor for the common good and therefore the good of both. It was leading right on to public and common proprietorship in the instruments of the deepest learning, the very thing which experience was to prove necessary in American democracy, when something happened to throw it all over for many years if not forever.

In 1823 gossip began to busy herself about the funds of Union College much of which had been provided by the State, and the next year the Board of Regents made a decidedly formal and peremptory demand for a complete and specific accounting. The trustees denied the legal power of the Regents over any of their financial affairs. A great rumpus followed. The Legislature was in the midst of it. Most of the able men of the State had intellectual dissipation in it. It was four years after the Dartmouth College case in the United States Supreme Court and the controversy ranged over much of the same ground. Losing sight of how much State money the college had had and what had become of it, forgetting all about what the college needed and the obligations of the State to it, forgetting the realities and magnifying the mere artificialities of the common life, the resolves and arguments and counter arguments dealt with officialism and prerogatives, with constitutional intendments and limitations, with legislative powers and purposes, with charter rights and the functions of common law visitors, and with divers other legal subtleties about which the great lawyers plume themselves. The broadaxes and the rapiers and some of the stilettos got into action. The legal reasoning was logical and skilful and it was embellished with innuendo, implication, invective and sarcasm, covered a little with the polite, insincere phrases of which many of the great lawyers of other days came to be past masters. Barring their infernal length and miserable print, the papers are a sort of literary and legal treat even now. The Legislature took refuge in referring them to the Attorney General, and adjourning. The Attorney General at the next session presented an able opinion in favor of the Regents. Then the judges that had been and were, wrote

elaborate opinions which had singular oneness of conclusion in favor of the trustees of the college.

The college had apparently the better of the legal argument. Nothing escaped its able and distinguished advisers and every point was pressed clear home with all there was of legal learning and aggressiveness. But it established, as it seems to me, more than it was well to establish. It won a famous victory, and lost its finest opportunity. It established its independence not only of the Regents, but of the Legislature and of the State, and abandoned the strategic advantage which was easily within its reach. No more State money was ever appropriated to it.

It is quite apparent that there was no ground for questioning the integrity of the trustees. They had been passing through a very hard time. It was a time for both dignity and conciliation. Their course illustrates the frequent unwisdom of standing upon the outer edge of legal rights. Regardless of technical legal rights, they should have reported about the State moneys to any one who would do them the favor of taking the information. When a question was raised about the integrity of the college management they should have stood in State street or upon the sand road and put a complete explanation in the hand of every passer-by. They and the Regents should have adjusted their differences in the interest of further moral and financial support for Union College and the interests for which it stood. They should have said, "We will meet every demand within our power if you will keep the appropriations abreast of the demands."

Dartmouth College had just been prevented from becoming a state college by the reasoning of Webster and the determination of Marshall, and Union College after having become a state college in everything but name now abdicated the position for exactly the same reasons which prevailed in the Dartmouth case. The vital one was unwillingness to submit to any measure of state control. In the words of Mr Carlyle the "constitutions had not marched" then as they have since and the educational purpose of our free democracy had not had its development, if, indeed, it had had its birth.

I am not rash enough to infringe upon the exclusive rights of the sons of Union to deal with the struggles and triumphs and setbacks, the pranks and escapes and punishments, the loves and inspirations and idealities of the life of Union College. It is not necessary to go behind the record to find incidents which must have made the clouds thick and murky upon college hill, and

other incidents which must have disposed the greatest of presidents to dance a hornpipe with the smallest of freshmen. They are to be reserved to the men who have the motive and the right to make them larger and rosier with each new telling. But there is one great factor in that life which is common property for it became a moral and intellectual asset of the nation. You anticipate me for you know I refer to the great qualities and the unparalleled presidency of Eliphalet Nott.

Governor Seward wrote, on the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the college, "I, too, am proud to be an alumnus of Union and a pupil of Nott," and Francis Wayland, himself a great college president, began the main address at the fiftieth anniversary of Dr Nott's presidency by saying "The reason of my appearing before you may be briefly told. The man whom every graduate of Union loves as a friend and venerates as a parent thought proper to request me to perform this service." And the many other men, some of them great men, whose souls responded to the same sentiments, could hardly be counted.

Nott's presidency extended through sixty-two years. But that is the least of it. His scholarship was deep and broad, both practical and classical. His generosity was unstinted and his sagacity matchless. He was a ready and forceful writer and so graceful in public speech as to become "The old man eloquent" of the college and the State. His piety was so pure and childlike as to save an undenominational college of fifty years ago from the charge of irreligion. The larger part of his administration was turbulent. Criticism was rife and it was not without occasion. He mingled college moneys with his own and commonly acted alone in the investment of the college funds and the management of the college business. If we know well enough that it was all wrong, there were few precedents then, the needs were imperative, and the boundless energy and devotion of the man led to results which could be gained in no other way. Criticism and implication were happily withdrawn at the end in the presence of the fact that all that he had, and it was quite a half million, went to the college. In the closing years of his great life his able, intellectual sons laid bare all the facts which a proud and honest spirit had refused to disclose, and wove together the indubitable proofs which convinced the world that his honor was as untarnished as his efficiency was brilliant and unquestioned.

In this great career there were at least three factors which were the forerunners of a new type of college president and the makers

of a new kind of college in America. He had considerable mechanical gift and was predisposed toward invention. If it led at times to catastrophe and humiliation, it took dogmatism and catechism out of his teaching and quickened it with illustration, demonstration and live human interest. He did more than any other of his generation to break out the roads towards the laboratory methods in all branches and grades of instruction. He did what he could, and it was much, for better methods of teaching which have now come to be universally accepted. Beyond that, he actually liked real boys and, for a college president of his day, he was surprisingly bold in letting them know it. He did not overestimate the power of boys who are worth being reckoned with to absorb the abstractions of dogmatic theology, and he learned in the first year of his presidency that a college faculty is liable to be about the worst tribunal that was ever devised for dealing with a college boy in a scrape. The graduation examination was more to him than the entrance examination, and the power of a man to do the work was the evidence he wanted of the man's right to the opportunity to do it. Yet again, he had a conception of the democratic mission of the American college, of the differing kinds of work which it ought to do, of the differing classes of people which it ought to serve, and of the multifarious interests it was bound to promote, which had not obtained at any other seat of learning in America at that time. Putting all this with the qualities of the student who would be attracted by it, we may see something of the reason why so large a percentage of the early sons of Union College came to places of much conspicuity in the world. The students were resourceful, the management was paternal, the offerings were diverse, the instruction was adaptable, and the inspirations were for ends which ordinary young men might hope to gain. No one familiar with educational history can fail to see that here was a substantial breaking away from the aristocracy and exclusiveness, as well as the offerings, the methods, and the outlook of the English universities and their undeveloped prototypes in America. If it is too much to say that this breaking away was for a long time exclusively at Union, it is not too much to say that it was unprecedentedly, emphatically and most potentially there. And it has given irresistible trend to collegiate thinking and collegiate policies in America. It has done more than that; it has developed the very distinct popular purpose to use the overwhelming political power of the third estate in our Republic to maintain at the common cost higher institutions of learn-

ing quite equal to any that are or are to be in the land. If not so, then this great result is the inevitable outworking of our democratic life, for, no matter whether one wills it or no, he who can not see it is blind to what is going on in the intellectual development of the country.

The private gifts to the higher learning are so large and so many as to paralyze our credulity. What is the end to be? Of one thing we may not doubt. What one can do in this land another will do. What one class or interest can do another class or interest will do. Equality of right and of opportunity is fundamental. It is more thoroughly understood and more rationally believed in now than when the Continental Congress proclaimed it. It extends to intellectual as well as personal, political and property rights. It does not seem hard to see that we are quickly coming to the time when in addition to a good elementary school close by every home and a good secondary school within walking or riding distance of every home, we shall have a great university, with all literary, scientific, technical and professional departments, established either by the money of the millionaire or by the state or the municipality, and free, or practically free, to whomsoever is qualified to do the work, within a hundred miles of every town.

Educational values will be better understood and colleges and universities will be better classified and standardized. Measuring rods will be more exactly applied. The contents of the package will have to be set forth upon the wrapper. The college will have to do a specialized work. It will have to do what it assumes to do and do it as well as other colleges can do it, if it is to have credit and prestige. Colleges will learn, if they have not learned, that there is educational economy through combinations in universities. Patrons will see that there is advantage to students of parts from shuffling with the crowd, and that the aggregate of weaklings who come to naught or go to the bad is no less in the smaller institutions than in the larger ones. In any event, the circumstances of population, of living, of transportation, of the cost of plant, and of the extent of faculty, for the efficiency in higher education have settled the matter. The die is cast. Every considerable community will have a university equal to its demands and pretty nearly free of cost to all who are prepared for its work and will come to take advantage of it. The history of the high school development is to be repeated. Communities that enter into the movement will find the advantage of it in their industrial, scientific, professional, and political life, and few will long be so perverse as

to be willing to lag behind the others. Each will want the best. The old-time theories of the aristocracy will have to go. They are nearly gone now. Fortunes that can find no other proper use, and the inevitable outworking of political power, have already given the trend and set the wheels in motion. Surely it will affect the older institutions. Their constituencies will not in the long run be so widely distributed. The supply of teachers from the older to the newer will turn back from the newer to the older. And the inexorable law of nature which favors the son of toil rather than the illusioned son of wealth will prove its wisdom in the substance and the balance of democratic institutions and their steadily enlarging influence in all of the affairs of our great, round world.

It may seem that I have wandered, but I have kept an end in view. I now bring this old college, with its history and its present situation, into this general field. With all of its history, lapping parts of three centuries, notwithstanding the fact that it was the first college chartered by the State and to all intents was once the State College, and notwithstanding the fact that it was the first college established in America westward of the Hudson river, and with its alumni filling places of honor and trust in every state, it is poor. New conditions and enlarged demands have grown up around it. It has not been able to keep in the lead of events. It has become associated with four institutions in this city in a nominal university. It is an arrangement of mutual convenience. Each of those institutions has, as things go in this country, an ancient, and certainly each has an honorable, history. Would that I could have paid proper tribute to each. But neither has been able to give much of support to another or to the whole. All of these institutions are good, but poor. Each needs an endowment, the assured means of stronger support. In underpinning and superstructure each needs rejuvenation and strengthening. Each of these institutions needs to be put in circumstances which will enable it to give to and get from the others. The college needs to be reinforced and broadened if it is to continue to serve the ends of general culture or provide the training for business and social life, or supply the preparation for the technical and professional schools which they are bound to demand if they are to meet the demands which are coming — have already come, upon all professional schools. And the medical school and the law school and the technological school ought not only to require stronger general and scientific scholarship for admission, and look to the college to provide it, but they must present wider offerings,

longer courses, larger laboratories, fuller equipment, and more teachers whose exclusive work is teaching, in order to do their professional work as well as, or better than, other professional schools are doing it. The association of professional schools with a literary and arts college in a university has been abundantly demonstrated to be highly desirable, and almost or quite a vital one. And of course the value of the whole depends upon the strength of the parts. Not only this but other schools need to be created for their own sake and for the sake of those already here.

Union University has a situation which stirs envy in other institutions. It is close by the capital of the first State in the Union. It is in a half dozen cities of nearly a half million people who, with the new means of transportation, are only a few minutes apart. For higher educational purposes they are really one community. It is close by organized State educational activities like which there are none other in the country. It will soon find itself in the shadow of a great new building, the first in the country to be devoted exclusively to the intellectual interests of a state. It has access to one of the very great libraries of the nation which is soon to be very much greater. It is adjacent to the State Normal College which is about to be housed in a new, spacious and beautiful home, with facilities much expanded in many ways. It is in close association with the oldest school of civil engineering in the country which has just been aided by a worthy woman with a munificent addition to its endowment. It has exceptional opportunities for a great school of electrical, mechanical and sanitary engineering. It has not far to look for a historical and art institute which might easily become the nucleus of a school of fine arts. All around it there are excellent public high schools and good private academies without number. All these institutions need college help, and can give help. It is in an environment which is historic, and ought to be and is able to be a center of education in the country. It is among a people of liberal means, some of whom might be disposed to save the transfer taxes upon the whole or a part of their estates by giving them over to an institution of learning really equal to the higher and diversified educational requirements of a community in which they have keen interest.

In another twenty years there will probably be no city in the United States with a quarter of a million people which will permit itself to suffer the injustice of being without a university which shall provide general culture, specialize in some measure in the fine arts,

propagate the political sciences, supply thorough training for all of the professions and make practical application of the scientific knowledge of the world to all of the agricultural, constructive and manufacturing industries.

In some way these cities and towns about the capital will have such a university. They will have an infinitely better university if they combine their resources and ingenuity. The necessary cost of plant and of operation is so great that either one of these cities would make a profound mistake and surely meet with at least partial failure if it were to attempt to act alone. The logic of the situation, information which we all have, or which is at hand, and institutions of much worth which are already in our midst, point to the fact that these cities should combine in a university movement.

Union College and the professional institutions associated with it can no longer hope to serve a widely distributed constituency. They will have sufficient burden and ample honor if they serve adequately the half million people or more who are within fifty miles of the New York State capital and if they represent these prosperous and intelligent communities as they are entitled to be represented upon the broad field of the higher learning in America.

Now, let us avoid a misfortune by speaking of it. From the first step in the development of Union College there have been occasional movements for installing it at Albany. Because of my absence I know less of the latest of these movements than others do. But I probably risk little in saying that no resident of this city will be disposed to become sponsor for such a suggestion now. The growth and the circumstances of population have already gone some distance and will speedily go much further in making that question of no practical concern. But there will be need of much readjustment and of adapting plans to situations which can be accomplished only by much concession and by readily opening the doors to new men and women, new influences and new movements. It is harder to organize a new scheme where there is a very respectable old one than where there is none at all. And it will be idle to move at all in this matter unless all who are interested are going to be disposed to take the situation as it is and act freely, without bias, prejudice or favor in making the most of it. But I entertain little doubt that if any interest should block the way of such a movement because of selfishness, that interest will find its own ends defeated, by the inevitable outworking of the situation in the next twenty years. For even in ancient

communities, the thing that ought to be in time finds its opportunity and breaks its way through.

I may have admitted, or assumed, or ventured more than the trustees and friends of the institutions in Union University would do. Even so, I have committed none but myself and I know full well that if my words do not generate much new energy they are not likely to produce very much harm. Wholly aside from what has been said it is very earnestly to be hoped that the cities of Albany, Troy, Schenectady, Hudson, Rensselaer, Cohoes and Watervliet and the prosperous villages above and below us upon the Hudson, and towards the Berkshires, up the valley of the Mohawk and out towards the headwaters of the Susquehanna may give their sincere and intelligent attention to the means for providing their people with adequate opportunities for the higher learning. These cities and towns ought to have a real university which they may justly call their own. It should be a university which can engage in all lines of research, be able to respond to every scientific need, and offer competent instruction in all branches of human learning. Its doors should swing freely to both men and women who are deserving, who have completed the work of the secondary schools, and who want to go further. It should nourish the natural, professional, political, and industrial sciences, and conserve, while it enlarges, the intellectual estate of ancient communities and a historic situation. It could be done as economically and yet as potentially here as anywhere in the country. But to do it in any satisfactory measure even here it must have an equipment of buildings and appliances which would be worth five millions of dollars and an endowment of ten millions or an assured and permanent income which would represent such an endowment. If such a university could be developed here it would be a crowning glory to a conspicuous and strategic situation, and if Union College, the Albany Medical College, the Albany Law School, and the Dudley Observatory could become the heart and core of such a university the fact would accord with the eternal fitness of things.

It may be so if all who will it so will join hands to make it so.

Look forward not back; 'tis the chant of creation,
The chime of the seasons as onward they roll:
'Tis the pulse of the world, 'tis the hope of the nation
'Tis the voice of our God in the depths of the soul.

Lend a hand! Like the sun that turns night into morning,
The star that leads storm-driven sailors to land.
Ah, life is worth living with this for the watchword—
Look up, out, and forward, and each lend a hand.

THE SCHOOLS AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE

ADDRESS AT THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL
ARBITRATION MAY 23, 1907

Mr President:

As a mere matter of prudence, my admission and your observation of the fact that this is my first appearance at a peace conference may well be coincident.

I am expected to treat of what the schools may do to promote the peace of the world. That involves my understanding of the basis of world peace. If I can not have a confident philosophy about that I can not rationally think of the relations which the schools ought to sustain to it. It is a subject about which there is not a little mystery and not a little divergent philosophy. If the newspapers are correctly informing, even the past masters are not at all times at peace in peace conferences.

Never, since the angels first proclaimed "On earth peace; good will toward men," has the hope of universal peace and good will seemed so assuring. It is because of the outworking of the New Power which the angels then heralded in the affairs of men. But the peace and good will were not to be without heavy conflict. Christ said, "I came not to send peace, but a sword." The sword was to be the necessary forerunner of peace. Repeatedly He foretold the horrors which were to follow the unfolding of the new gospel. Prophecy has been realized in fact. The theology or the spirituality of it I have not the training to exploit. Doubtless some professor of theology will tell us that the obvious meaning is not the real meaning of the statement. The Lord probably had no conception of modern theological interpretation: most assuredly I have none.

I think I have some understanding of the history which has followed since the statement was made and that fixes my attitude of mind. A new king came into human life. True, He was a heavenly king. He regarded not the kings of the earth; but they had to regard Him. He gained followers at once and together they propagated a philosophy and pursued a course which defied monarchs. The monarchs resisted, and harrassed them but they gained great numbers and became a great force. They stirred the thinking as well as the feelings of great peoples. All peoples lived in subjection to kings. The power of the kings was in the

unthinking obedience of their subjects. The only argument was brute force. But conviction and faith could not be abashed by physical force. The new religion was as intellectual as spiritual. Nations were actually set in motion. It widened knowledge and sharpened mentality. Men and women had to think for themselves, and then their thinking was unlike. Creeds began to be framed and the drawing and the defense of them made for logical thinking and trained intellectuality. With added numbers and hardening creeds and deepening faith, and with all this opposed by nothing but brute force, aggression was natural and conflict inevitable. Armies broke out the road over which freedom and the truth could advance to the making of a new order of things.

The crusades did a little something for the central European nations in the early centuries, like what modern invention and travel have been doing in our century. The compounding of a new nation in Britain a thousand years ago did something more. The discovery of America, the consequent Spanish dreams of world empire and the expulsion of Spain from the Netherlands did even more, and the German, and English, and American, and French revolutions — all sequential — did yet more. And the compounding of yet another nation in America, which has practically demonstrated the possibility of secure and aggressive popular government, with the sense of moral right and the political pre-
science which could locate the point of equipoise between liberty and security, has stridden toward the climax of universal peace more decisively than all before. It has all been associated with intellectual virility and moral advances. Schools and universities and literatures and philosophies and systems of laws and professional spirit and learning, and endless devices and conveniences which are the product of the fact that individualism is having its chance in the world,— all this is the logical unfolding of a mighty plan which was beyond the ordering of men.

It has all been marked by force — the rational and regulated force of the mass controlling the greedy, impulsive, vicious power of the chieftan or the clan. It was impossible without physical force, and the force of the Christian peoples was as righteous as the thinking which called it into operation. Gustavus Adolphus and William of Nassau are as much entitled to the regard of a peace conference as is Luther. Cromwell should be as justly honored here as Stratford and Sir Harry Vane. Washington's army was as moral a force as the Continental Congress, whose Declaration of Independence it made good. Lincoln's armies were

as righteous as the Constitution which required Lincoln to gather such forces as were necessary to execute the laws in all parts of the land. The heroic doings of the men and women who made our free democracy possible and proved its power to govern, and therefore its right to be, are moral assets of the nation and moral stimulants in the schools. The obligation of this generation to impress all this upon the next generation is as binding as the eternal truth itself, and as sacred as a vicarious grave.

Constitutionalism is the corner stone of the peace of the nations, and it will have to be of the peace of the world. It has been expanded through armed resistance to brutal aggression. It has not yet gone so far as to do away completely with the further necessity of force; it has not made the struggles which were the conditions of its birth seem wicked; it has not put a ban upon present and future aggressiveness. What it *has* done has been to define and assure natural rights by subordinating force to law. It has established courts to determine disputes upon principles which have sprung out of the wisdom of the ages, and it has created officers and forces who, in a systematic and authoritative way, bring the physical strength of all good citizens when need be to protect the rights of good and bad.

Some men and some nations want anything but law and anything but the lawful exercise of the common authority against them. Such men in a political society have to be controlled; such nations have to be enlightened. It remains to be seen whether the principle that the constitutional nations are to exercise control over lawless ones is to prevail throughout the world,—and if so, in what cases?

I dissent from any doctrine which would make men insipid. If a felon breaks into my house the law expects me to resist him, and if I think I am in peril—as I will think if I am not unusually stupid—the law approves of my killing him. That is not only because my house is my castle, but to the end that other felons may know what to expect. If I see a brutal and irresponsible scoundrel strike a woman in the street, I am a weak character and a worthless citizen if I do not employ whatever strength I may have to protect her. The law would shield her, and it not only expects all good citizens to aid it but, in the absence of its authorized officers, to execute it as best they can. It required thousands of years to establish in the law the principle that all decent people must stand for the security and the opportunity of each, and each for the good of all. It has now become firmly

established in all well-ordered countries. It will be no small matter to make it a virile and accepted principle governing the conduct and the relations of nations. It was left for democracy to give it its opportunity. The rescue of Cuba from Spain by the United States, not for gain, much against our interest, and only because it was right, has supplied the object lesson which good international teaching needs, and it has exemplified a principle which is vital to world progress.

It is perhaps too much to expect that nations will bind themselves in advance to accept the determinations of an international tribunal. That may be parting with sovereignty,—the one thing that nations can not do. But the very fact of participating in setting up an international tribunal establishes the purpose to respect it. The very fact of submitting a case to it proves the expectation to abide its determination. Nations which take these solemn steps and then repudiate them, without assigning a reason which commends itself to the sense of the world, will forfeit the international respect which is alike vital to the standing and the strength of nations, and without which they are little to be feared.

The nations have come to live so closely together; the news of the world is so widely and quickly known; the mind of the world is so enlightened, the moral sense so strong, the principles of justice so widely and firmly established, and, withal, war has become so mechanical and abhorrent, that it does seem as though there should be sufficient agreement among the more progressive nations to establish some substantial form of constitutional procedure *between* as well as *within* the nations. It at least ought to go so far as to prevent aggressive warfare without just cause, or, even *with* just cause, without imperative need. But I am not prepared to oppose all warfare. The deliberate thought of an enlightened people surely ought to have its way after every other alternative has failed.

I feel bound now to qualify my expressions as to the need of force to uphold law and maintain sovereignty. I do not agree to the endless accretion of idle armament and unusable forces. The educative influence of it is bad; the surplusage of it is exactly opposed to the only legitimate purpose of it.

It would seem that any general and efficient scheme for settling international controversies must depend upon—(a) ripening public sentiment, (b) a permanent court of such exalted character that no people with a just cause would fear its determinations, and

(c) a written and steadily augmenting code of legal principles which ought to govern international conduct, both in peace and war.

The sentiment is crystallizing; the forerunner of the court is already in being and the permanent court seems likely; the code has augmented slowly while its only opportunity was through agreements in treaties or precedents, but it will be more rapidly expanded when there is a place to submit issues and when determinations are more frequent.

This is what I would like to aid, and therefore what I would be glad to have the schools promote. It is often easier to exploit propositions when one has no official responsibility about them. It is sometimes disconcerting to be fettered by facts and burdened by responsibility. This question would probably be answered more to the delight of an enthusiastic conference by one who has no official responsibility about the schools, or by one who has not been in a school since childhood—which may have been as much as ten or twelve years ago. Now, no one should take offense at that, for you doubtless all know as much about schools as I do about peace.

There are schools in all countries. With this conference in mind I have caused a careful investigation to be made as to the number of teachers in the world. The figures surprise me. There are 150,000 in Austria-Hungary; as many more in France; 232,000 in Germany; 275,000 in the British Isles; 97,000 in Italy and 30,000 in the Netherlands; 180,000 in Russia; 18,000 in Sweden, and 13,000 in Switzerland; a full half million in India; 120,000 in Japan; 30,000 in Canada; and 580,000 in the United States. All the other countries, civilized or semicivilized, have their fair proportions. There are clearly more than 3,500,000 in all.

It is a great guild. There is no such widely distributed fraternity in the world. Of course there are all kinds in it, but they have much in common. It is their business to differ and their delight to discuss, but their work brings them into accord upon the essentials of right living and of international comity and brotherhood. I doubt not the predisposition of the overwhelming number, and if in some way they could be quickened to use their quiet, steady and indirect influences to substitute rational determinations for the arbitrament of the sword in settling international disputes, it would have a telling effect upon the sentiment of the world. It would seem as though, with a little governmental favor, official records, and our free communication, there might be a somewhat systematic and potential canvass of the teachers of the

world in the interest of universal good will and of the common regard for definable moral standards which ought to be inviolable in both individual and international conduct.

For example, let it be understood that one nation will not be allowed to despoil another for the sake of empire or other greed, because it is immoral, and the ordinary motive of aggressive warfare will have disappeared. For example, again, if it could be realized that all men and all governments are responsible to one another for the security of each and the opportunity of all; that all government is necessarily a burden, and that each must carry his part of the burden according to strength, the consequent feeling of comradeship in effort would become an impenetrable barrier to unholy war. The teachers of the world might, through an organized movement, become a very great force in doing all this. More thoroughly educated concerning it themselves, they would, at least by the indirect influence — which is often more telling than the direct, propagate it in all parts of the earth.

The universities may well be counted upon to give point, form and expression to the better sentiment of all countries in this behalf. It has a proper place in their offerings; it is attractive to their advanced students, and their teaching is bound to give opportunity and impetus to this good movement. Their research and their publications may well be expected to illumine and soundly expand the law of the State, and the manifest and growing comity between the universities of the more enlightened and powerful nations ought to open the way for the extension of constitutionalism to the vital issues which are inevitable in international relations. It is particularly so since the better schools of law are in organic association with universities, and more particularly still it is so since the experts in the universities are coming to be the best equipped advisers of nations upon technical points in serious international disputes.

The work of the colleges, and in some measure that of the secondary schools, may well anticipate that of the professional schools and the universities in this as in other matters. The phases of it which may properly form a part of the work of the elementary schools are not obvious. It must be said frequently that it is high time that we stopped clogging the curricula of the lower schools with so much that pupils may learn in one tenth of the time when the place for it is reached—if, indeed, there is any place for it at all. If we teach the elements of knowledge and exemplify the elements of good morals in the primary schools, we shall not be

censured if we omit constitutional law, political history, and international arbitration.

Of course there should be nothing in the schools to distort the understanding or obscure the outlook of children. It has often been said in peace conferences that the textbooks in the schools emphasize the triumphs of strife rather than the struggles and accomplishments of peace. It does not seem so to me. We can not expect the textbooks to be prepared without reference to human interest. The news and magazine writers ought not to criticize them for that. The readers and histories and geographies, in the texts and the illustrations, seem to me to exemplify very fairly the struggles and progress of all of the interests of peace in all parts of the world. The literature used by the schools is the best in the world, infinitely more choice than ever before. It is not the literature of strife so much as of peace, work, and culture. One who is advocating a particular thing is hardly likely to be an unbiased judge when his special enthusiasm is involved. In recent years there is distinctly discernible in school literature a new purpose to magnify accomplishments in the arts and sciences, rather than the triumphs of armies. And we had better not forget. History must be written truly. The boys who have ginger in them will have to know what has happened; they will have their opportunity; they will draw conclusions for themselves. The work of the schools makes for independent and virile thinking within the limits which hard facts impose, and therefore for balanced manliness and womanliness, more than ever before in human history.

We are frequently asked to set aside a day or an hour for exercises to promote this, that, or the other cause in the schools. The cause is generally a worthy one. Sometimes it is one about which patrons of the school will differ. It may have reference to trees or to birds, to Bible reading, or temperance, or woman suffrage, or athletics, or to memorials of soldiers, or tributes to authors, or to spelling in new ways, or to professors practising on guinea pigs, or to the bad influences of automobiles upon the wretches who run them, or to raising funds to be used in searching for the North Pole. I do not think these things as important as world peace, but there are misguided people who do. And it must be said, with sadness, that they are very aggressive and seem to have no care for peace at all. It can not *all* be done. Very little of it ought to be done. It is not the business of the schools to promote special causes. If attempted, it is impossible of suc-

cess without special programs and instructions, which cost time, money and labor. It is a good deal of a matter to interfere with the regular order in the thirty thousand schools in this State, for example. In private schools the authorities may do what they will about any such matter. In public schools the local authorities may do almost anything, not repugnant to law, that the general sentiment of the place will sustain. But the school authorities of an American state are not expected to promote particular causes outside the accepted functions of the schools, without the special sanction of law. A state school officer is only an administrative or executive officer. He does not own the schools. He is not to interfere too much with local rule either affirmatively or negatively. He acts for all. He acts only in matters common to all and pursuant to the will of at least the majority. If the people of the state want anything done in all the schools, and it is not being done, they will be likely to write it in the law so that the officers who may cause it to be done for them may know definitely what they want.

In a concluding word, the mind and heart of the world cherish good will and abhor war. But natural rights are cherished more than peace and they will be maintained even though conflicts ensue. In well ordered life rights are ordinarily maintained and conflicts are avoided by the submission of good citizens to the rule of law by submitting disputes to the decisions of courts, and by using the common power to punish the undesirable citizens. States which are sane enough and strong enough for this naturally come into agreeable relations with other states of like character. Commonly that is enough. But there are men and nations who prefer to be outlaws; and there are men and nations with no inclinations towards outlawry who have differences that can not be settled by discussion and agreement. Moreover, men and women do not separate into nations upon moral lines. Without much reference to causes, some in all nations would have conflict for the mere sake of conflict, or for a mere show of strength and the power to bully; some would avoid conflict at any cost; and some believe that force is never necessary to the maintenance of just principles. We have to deal with common opinion and with prevalent conditions. Differences between men will continue to arise and they will be settled by conciliation, by arbitration, by judicial determination, or by force. The more serious differences between nations, as well as between men, will have to be settled in one of these ways. Many of the differences between nations

are settled by discussion, and we hear little of them. Some are settled by arbitration, to the avoidance of many wars. But international arbitration of aggravated disputes is not much to be relied upon except between the most enlightened nations having predominant moral sense. Settlement by law will be the surer, but it depends upon common sentiment, upon some kind of continuing agreement, upon principles being reduced to form, upon an established and satisfying tribunal, upon recognized practice for joining issues and proceeding to determinations, and upon the extent of the understanding that the nations will submit to it themselves and support its judgments in all parts of the world.

This is international constitutionalism. It is constitutionalism in its fullest flower. Arbitration may avoid war; constitutionalism is a system reasonably certain to avoid war. Even more, it is forehanded, it is the object lesson, it is educative, it quickens initiative and it opens opportunity to the best impulses of all people in all the nations. The schools, particularly the schools of the masses out of whose freedom constitutionalism has always sprung, can ill afford to have no part in helping it on. But it must be a part which is neither sporadic nor spasmodic, neither memorized nor mechanical. It must spring out of that impulse and grasp which provide the background of all substantial accomplishment; it must proceed from impulse to result with due regard to the basis upon which the schools rest and all of the other interests which center in them. And that must come through the thinking of the teachers, rather than the mechanism of the schools.

THE AMERICAN TYPE OF UNIVERSITY

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS AT SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY, JUNE 12, 1907

*Mr Chancellor, and Ladies and Gentlemen, and, more particularly,
you Young Men and Women of the Class of 1907:*

There is no more fascinating, indeed no more exhilarating, spectacle than a commencement scene in an American university, on a clear and bracing morning in the rosy month of June.

It is not only the hour when an eager and ambitious class — justly proud of substantial intellectual accomplishments, with the proper confidence which comes of very considerable intellectual discipline, truly courageous and sanely idealistic through much contact with the very best in human life — receives the standard stamp of approbation and commendation which the best scholarship can give; but it is also the hour when the university comes out into the open and presents to the activities of actual life the finest new energies which it can generate and train.

There are universities — and many of them — in other countries which never have commencements. They give credits for work done, and when one has enough credits he exchanges them for a degree. I say *he* because the women have little or nothing to do with it. The whole thing is as guiltless of ideality, of imagination, of incentive, of spirit in any form, as the building of a canal boat or the buying of a pair of shoes. There are universities in this country which have inherited so much from the universities of the old countries that they are able to understand the spirit and meet the educational needs of the United States only with the greatest difficulty and only in the most apprehensive, ponderous, and distressing kind of way. And there are universities in all countries which have inbred so much, which are so self-satisfied, which have got so much transmitted "culture" which did not come through heavy work, that they are innocently unjust and necessarily unfair to the people upon whom they must depend for the continuous reinforcement of virile life. There is a scholarship so unemotional as to be gloomy, so aristocratic as to be useless, so "cultured" as to be insipid, so cynical as to be tormenting; but scholarship of the modern type in America has little in common with it.

The great fact that makes a university commencement in our

country of such absorbing popular interest is that it is the annual occasion of an American university. The world sees, if willing to see, a new type of university in this country in the last half century. Let us inquire, with necessary brevity, how it has come to be, and what are the features which distinguish it.

All of the older social systems of the world, no matter how proficient in political philosophy or in the arts and sciences of civilization, have shown a distinct cleavage between the upper and the nether classes. The names of things have been different in different countries and the things themselves have had all manner of forms and colorings, but the fact has been wellnigh universal that there have been two great classes and that a small higher class has ruled a much larger lower class. As universally as this has been true, the universities have been the creations and have reflected the outlook and executed the purposes of the higher class. The outlook of the higher class has seldom caught a glimpse of the wisdom of giving every one his chance, and the self-interest of that class has never been much tempered by anxiety for widely diffusing a universal learning. The change has come through the fact that in this country the larger class is having something to say about it.

Until in our country, and practically in our time, the university has stood for some manner of exclusiveness. It may have been for a monarch and what he implies; it may have been for a more or less constitutional state; it may have been for a church; it may have been for a profession or a guild: never, until now and here, has it stood for all learning and for all the people.

This was almost as true of early American as of foreign colleges or universities. We too often forget—if, indeed, we have ever realized—that our American democracy, with its great elements of toleration, equality before the law, free right of opportunity for all, no special privileges, and with its public institutions of equal service to all, did not all at once come full-fledged into the world by the migration of a few thousand people of well settled notions across the sea. The common thought and the social and institutional life of the old world persisted in the new world. Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Rutgers, Brown, Dartmouth, all stood for aristocracy in the state, for denominationalism in religion, and for a learning which was exclusively culturing and professional. They never dreamed of uplifting the common people or of applying scientific research to the industries of the country.

It does not signify any lack of appreciation of the great qualities which the early settlers brought to this country, to say that the dominant and distinguishing thought of the nation has come from the compounding of a new nation out of pretty nearly all kinds of people in the world. The very necessities of the situation have broken down all general distinctions between classes and brought forth a national political philosophy with a universal freedom of initiative and a popular efficiency in consummation which the world has never seen before. It is this which has made a new manner of university. It has remodeled the earlier universities and it has brought very quickly into vigorous life many powerful institutions which stand for the universal purpose to promote the universal good. Some of them have resulted from the benefactions of a man of wealth, some from the leadership of a great executive and the work and love of a multitude of others who had little besides work and love to give, and some through the popular determination working through the political machinery of the state. But *all* have had to appeal to a constituency which was wider than any class, or sect, or party, and such as have been able to meet the needs of such a constituency have found overwhelming support and response to their ability to do it.

It is interesting to note that the university development has been strongest where our democracy has been the freest. As new states were settled to the westward by a people who lacked little in moral purpose and nothing in initiative or in courage, they not only took good care of an elementary school system but commonly provided for a state university in their new constitutions. The older states could not do that when *they* were organized because neither legal opportunity, nor political philosophy, nor educational theory, nor the force of popular initiative were up to the point of doing it at that time. And the lead in freedom and in force of popular initiative which the newer states gained from the fulness of their opportunity, they seem likely to hold. They are certainly diffusing the higher learning more completely among all the people without regard to heredity or wealth than any other people in the world. They have established proprietorship in a universal school system of sixteen grades, beginning with the kindergarten and continuing along a smooth and unbroken road up to and through the university, which is unique in the history of education. They see, as most of us in the east do *not* see, that the logical educational result of our fundamental political theory, that every child of the republic shall have equality of opportunity,

leads to a university so free at least that no one who is prepared for it and aspires to it shall fail to get it only because he lacks the money to pay the cost. It is as inevitable as the natural out-working of our political philosophy is certain that this ideal will obtain in the course of time wherever the presence of the flag of the Union determines the educational policy of a people.

When it was settled that we were to have a universal public high school system all over this country, it was practically settled that we should have a public university system as well. One thing in intellectual evolution and educational opportunity accomplished in America, another thing—and a higher thing—will follow almost as a matter of course. If one asks where it is to end, the answer must be "I do not know." The hereafter ought to have some things to settle, and that is one of them.

The building of public high schools made it certain that the colleges already established would have to forego much of their exclusiveness and that there would be new colleges and groups of colleges in which the control would not be with any class.

The great difficulty with the systems of education in other lands is not that they have no elementary school system. They very generally have excellent ones. Attempting less than we do in the primary schools, they sometimes do it better than we do; and, better still, they have less difficulty than we do in making every child attend upon the instruction provided for him. Nor is the difficulty that they have no university system. Very generally they have an excellent one, from which we have much to learn. The difficulty is that there is no connecting link between the two, and that it is not intended that there shall be one. There is not only no continuous road from one to the other, but there are insurmountable barriers between them. The universities serve an exclusive class, and no matter how educationally entitled a child of the masses may be, it is difficult, almost to the point of prohibition, for him to secure the advantages of the advanced schools.

That is the thing which the fundamental political philosophy and the deliberate democratic purpose of this country are obviating. It is not that any of us are against all the exclusiveness that anybody wants in his private or family life. We all want some of that ourselves; it is a matter of temperament, of congeniality, of experience and of taste, and in personal affairs these are to have their way; but the public policy of the country will give every one his public chance, his equal opportunity—at least

so far as the common wealth and the common political power are used to create individual opportunity at all.

Happily, the high school movement in America has proved to be a great disorganizer of classes, as well as a great help to the diffusion of higher learning. It has made men and women of all classes know each other better and regard each other more. It has gained and retained the interest of many of quick mentality, marked business success, and newly acquired wealth in popular education. It has been the secret spring of many a great gift to a university, and of much munificence for the common good.

And, whatever else it has done, it has created an overwhelming influence for the development of universities and for determining the essential features of new universities in America. There was reason for the earliest and most decisive manifestation of this movement in the newer states. There were no old-line academies and colleges there to stand in the way of it. The settlers were of the finest New York and New England stock: they knew about the very best in education. The parents were ready to lay down their all, even their lives, for their children; and they had a clear field. Of course, with such a people the schoolhouse became the most conspicuous building in the pioneer village, and of course a little "college" sprang up in every considerable town. Of course, again, with such a people the public high school had its quickest and perhaps its most luxuriant development. The sooner the high school became a fact the sooner higher education became a passion. When the federal land grants were made to higher education in all the states, right at the darkest hour in the Civil War, the eastern states hardly knew about them at all, and have never made more than perfunctory and indifferent use of them, while the western states have seized them with avidity, put them to their utmost possibilities, added to them from ten to a hundredfold, and cry for more with an eagerness and an audacity that would have made young Oliver Twist a veritable hero.

And these federal land grants in themselves have had much to do in fixing the predominant type of university in America. With them, with the complete recognition of the principle that it is within the functions of a democratic state to do—or to delegate the legal power to do—whatever the people want to do for learning, and with general education boards with millions at their disposal every year for the higher institutions, it is not difficult to see that the colleges and universities in America which will

endure will minister to all the people, without reference to their means, and will promote every phase of honorable endeavor without regard to class or station.

Let it not be inferred that the typical American university is, or is to be, the poor man's university. It is not to be burdened with any qualifying adjectives. It is to be the rich man's and the poor man's alike. Its strength is, and is to be, in the fact that it is representative of the common life. It is to be no more exclusive than the constitution of the country is exclusive, save upon the one point of ability to do its work. It brings rich and poor, men and women, together upon the basis of advanced scholarship, and it gives intellect an opportunity which is distinctly higher and nobler than any that can follow the mere accidents of birth or the mere incidents of life.

No university can be a real or an effective American university and follow the exclusive educational ideals of other countries and other times. A new nation has been compounded in this country out of people from all social, industrial, political and moral conditions in the world. That nation is working out its own salvation. It is doing it upon lines that are peculiar to itself. I think it is doing it safely and effectually. The net result will be the freest and the finest uplift to the intellectual and moral state of men and women that the world has ever seen. This thing is not only going through this nation, but, largely through the instrumentality of this nation, it is going through the world. It must, of necessity, create instrumentalities which are peculiarly its own. Above all, its educational institutions of the first rank, which must regulate the ebb and flow of the nation's best and truest thought, can not be limited by ideals which had reached their zenith before our nation was born and before our political science had begun to make its revolutionary impressions upon the thinking and the destiny of mankind. Nor, indeed, can we be limited by conditions which prevail at this time in other nations and their institutions. Without, by any means, descending to the low level of declaring that things in this country are better than things in other countries only because they *are* in this country, and cheerfully recognizing the vastness of the knowledge we are yet to gain from other lands, I dare make the declaration, in words that will leave little to be misunderstood, that we can not follow the British university, with its narrow, purely classical and purely English scholarship, which is studiously prevented from being broadened by that fatuous policy of the ruling classes which stubbornly

refuses the organization of all secondary schools through which the only people who can broaden it may come to the universities at all. We can not accept the scheme of the French universities, overbalanced as they are with the mechanical and the imaginative, and dominated by the martial feeling and the military organization of a people who need the opportunity of thinking freely above all other things. Nor can we copy the German university, which puts the scientific method first, regards sound morals but little, and conveniently absolves itself from all responsibility about the character of its students, so long as they can use a microscope to magnify the strength of the empire. And if we can not be guided by the English or French or German universities, we can not be guided by any. We will take and we will leave whatever will serve our ends either by taking or leaving. We will build up institutions which make for scholarship, for freedom and for character, and which, withal, will look through American eyes upon questions of political policy, and train American hands to deftness in the constructive and manufacturing industries of most concern to the United States.

There has been no more noteworthy or promising development in our intellectual, political, or industrial life than the flocking of students in recent years to the universities which show a rational appreciation of the educational demands of our American life, and a reasonable disposition to meet the needs of the educational situation. Even where a university is not situated in a large city and is not sustained by an attendance which *will* go somewhere and can go nowhere else, it has stood in no need of students or of support if it could enter into the spirit of the Republic and would offer sound instruction which had some human interest and some real bearing upon practical training for our own professional and industrial life.

A mere English or culturing training, no matter how excellent and necessary a thing in itself, is no longer a preparation for the professions. The legal profession demands that and also a great and varied special library; a knowledge of legal history and theory; certainty about the statutes and the decisions; aptness at associating all in a comprehensive and logical whole, and readiness at applying the correct parts to new cases. It requires years of study under expert and practical teachers, with ample accommodations, in a special school, almost necessarily associated with a university. Medicine claims the English training, and then exacts years of research in chemistry, zoology, bacteriology, physi-

ology and other fundamental and kindred sciences, requiring great laboratories and costly equipment which can hardly be provided at all outside of the great universities. After that, the theory and practice specially appertaining to the profession must have a special school, and again almost necessarily, one associated with a university. It is the same with architecture, and engineering, and agriculture, and all the professional and industrial activities of the country. It is even largely so with the fine arts. All demand the libraries, and laboratories, and drafting rooms, and shops, and athletic grounds, and gymnasiums, and kitchens, and all the other things which only the large universities can provide, and all students do their own work more happily and absorb much from the work of the others when they get their training in association with the crowd in the university. Wherever the university offers all these things, there the students gather; there thought is free—but is very liable to have the conceits taken out of its freedom; there the actual doing outweighs the mere talk; there practical research cuts dogmatism to the bone; there honest work has its reward, and pretense its quick condemnation; there men and women measure up for what they *are* rather than for what they claim; there inspiration is given to every proper ambition, and there a great and true American university develops.

All this has led to some very sharp differentiation between the external forms and the manner of government and the plan of work of American and foreign universities. For example, the board of trustees is largely peculiar to American universities. It stands for the mass in university government and policy. On the other side of the sea there is no *mass* in university affairs. Charters run in the name of the king; the king is the head of the university, as of the state; and the king, or the king's minister, determines the course the university is to pursue. The early American colleges were all chartered by the king; even Parliament had no part in the matter. In the midst of the revolution, just following the defeat of St Leger at Oriskany, of Clinton in his movement up the Hudson, and of Burgoyne at Saratoga, when neither king nor Parliament were much in vogue in New York, and when a petition was presented to the young state government for the chartering of Union College, there was not a little embarrassment as to whether it should be addressed to the Governor or to the Legislature, and as to which should deal with it. Yankee ingenuity met the difficulty by addressing the prayer to both, and statecraft

split the difference by creating the Board of Regents to deal with such matters. But, however chartered, the board of trustees stands for the donors, the creators and the public, in giving trend to the course of the university. The point of it is that the founders, either the donors or the public, or both, are represented in the matter.

There is no office like our *presidency* in foreign universities. The reason for this appears in the fact that there is no faculty to be gathered, assimilated, partly eliminated, reinforced, and dealt with, according to our usage. The reason for *this* is that the intellectual provender is provided upon the *European* rather than upon the *American* plan. You pay for what you get, rather than pay for everything and then take what you like. The charges are for single courses. The professor gets the fees. The thing works automatically. If he can not teach he lacks students and soon obliterates himself. So far it is well. If another comes along who can gather students, he is welcome. There is something to be said for the system, but it lacks comprehensiveness, grasp, and the strength to bear responsibility for the balanced training of youth and the harmonious evolution of character. It will suffice where the institution has no care about intellectual balance or morals, and therefore it will not do in this country. The office of president holds things together, makes the parts fit into each other, stands for the public, the trustees, the teachers, the parents and the students, and carries the whole forward to the great ends for which a wealth of money, and of holy effort, and of the world's wisdom, has been put into it. And there is nothing clearer than that the university flourishes, that is, that the purposes of all that centers in the creation are most completely accomplished, when it has a sane and capable all-around executive who can mark out a good way and has *will* enough to make it go.

The early American colleges, copied upon foreign prototypes, have had to do so much readjusting that their old friends would not recognize them, and the ones which came a little later have naturally been created to fit a situation and fall in with a very general order. From now on they will not be able, and probably they will not be disposed, to dominate university policy in the United States. They will be obliged to work in accord with the overwhelming number of universities, colleges and secondary schools taken together. They will have to accept students *who can do their work* and who want to do it, without so much reference to how or what they have studied somewhere else. The western

boys and girls say that under the accrediting system, by which institutions are examined more than students, it is easier to get into western than into eastern universities, but that, once in, it is hard to stay in a western university, while one who gets into an eastern university can hardly fail to be graduated if he will be polite to the professors and pay the term bills. And the western people say that their way is best; that every one must have his chance; that at least his chance is not to be taken away upon a false premise; that if he "flunks out" after having had his chance it is his fault and no one is going to worry about it; and that it is better to regard the graduation standards and apply them to four years' work that the faculty must know all about than to make a fetish of entrance requirements and have so much ado about prior work—about which they can know very little at the best. It is all worth thinking about. I am not a westerner: I am thoroughly a New Yorker. But I am for the open, the continuous and the smooth road from the primary school to the university, and for every one having his chance without any likelihood of his losing it upon a misunderstanding or a hazard.

The large and strong universities will not only wax larger and stronger, but they will multiply in number. Because there will be so many of them, no one of them will serve so widely scattered a constituency as heretofore. Women are going to have the same rights as men to the higher learning. Boys will not always go to a university because their grandfathers went there. The time will come, while members of this graduating class are yet in middle life, when every large and vigorous city and the territory naturally tributary thereto will have a great university, able not only to satisfy its needs of the culturing studies but also its demands for professional and business upbuilding.

What is to become of the literary colleges? They are to flourish so long as, and wherever they can provide the best instruction in the humanities, and do not assume names which they have no right to wear, and do not attempt to do work which they can do only indifferently. They will train for culture and they will prepare for the professional work as of yore. And wherever one does this well and is content to do so, it is to have every sympathy and support which an appreciative public can give. But no institutions, of whatever name or grade, are going to fool all the people for a great while, and the young men and women of America are going to have the best training that the world can give, and have it not a thousand miles from home. It is no longer necessary to

cross the sea in order to get it, and even our own older universities are close upon the time when their work must be reinforced from the newer ones, more than the newer ones from the older ones.

Obviously, the American university, as no other university in the world, must regard the life, and especially the employments, of the people. It must exhibit catholicity of spirit; it must tolerate all creeds; it must inspire all schools; it must guard all the professions, and it must strive to aid all the industries. It must quicken civic feeling in a system where all depends upon the rule of the people. It must stand for work, for work of hand as well as of head, where all toil is alike honorable and all worth is cornered upon respect for it.

In a word, our immigration is making a nation of a wholly new order; our democracy is developing a new kind of civilization; our system of common schools, primary and secondary, has brought forth a type of advanced schools peculiar to the country. Institutions that would prosper may better recognize the fact. The universities that would thrive must put away all exclusiveness and dedicate themselves to universal public service. They must not try to keep people out: they must help all who are worthy to get in. It is not necessary that all of these institutions shall stand upon exactly the same level; it is necessary that each shall have a large constituency; it is necessary that all shall connect with some schools that are below them. It is imperative that all shall value the man at his true worth and not reject him because his preparation has lacked an ingredient which a professor has been brought up to worship. Essentially so when, in case the boy has studied the subject in the high school, the professor is as likely as otherwise to tell him that he has been wrongly taught and that he must get what he has learned out of his head before he can start right and hope to know the thing as he ought. It is necessary that all shall be keen enough to see what is of human interest, and broad enough to promote every activity in which any number of people may engage.

The American university will carry the benefits of scientific research to the doors of the multitude. It will make healthier houses and handsomer streets, richer farms and safer railways, happier towns and thriftier cities, through the application of fundamental principles to all the activities of all the people. It will train balanced men and women and therefore it will promote sport as well as work and control the conduct of students as well as open their minds. It will not absolve itself from any legitimate respon-

sibilities which instructors are bound to bear towards youth. It will preserve the freedom of teaching, but it will not tolerate freakishness or license in the name of freedom of teaching. It will engage in research as well as instruction, but when men absolve themselves from teaching for the sake of research it will insist upon a grain of discovery in the course of a human life. We have a distinct national spirit in America. An American university will understand how that has come to be and what it is aiming at, will fall in with it, will be optimistic about it, and will help it on to its fullest consummation.

I have discussed this theme here because it ought to be realized by the people and particularly by the universities of New York; because I think the university which I have the honor to address is—quite as completely as any institution in the State—actuated by the spirit and outlook which an American university must have, and therefore because I had reason to believe my discussion would have hospitality under this roof. I would be false to my sense of justice and my standard of public usefulness if I did not say that since my return to the State it has appeared more and more clearly to me that the marvelous growth of Syracuse University has resulted from the fact that it has been moved by the true spirit of modern American university progress.

I know something of the details of university evolution. I know that many people have combined to produce this splendid evolution. It has all come from individual giving and cooperative effort. The people of this thrifty inland city have surely done much for it. The return upon the investment will be a great one—how great only a few can now foresee. The Methodist church has been true to its history, its character and its aggressive democratic spirit, in the valiant support it has given to this university. The donors who have made its equipment possible, the trustees who have kept it in the middle of the road, the teachers who have given it tone and distinction, the students and the graduates who have given it reputation for energy and valor, are all entitled to a warm word of commendation and congratulation from an educational representative of the State. And to you, Mr Chancellor, for the masterful management which has bound all of these factors together and wrought out this magnificent creation, I shall always, respectfully and heartfully, remove my hat.

I can not close without a direct word to this graduating class. It is essentially their day and my direct word to them has already been too long delayed. They would hardly realize that they had

been graduated, without a little preaching. Young men and women, you have now learned enough to cause you to fear a little. But fear not overmuch. You are reasonably prepared for work; hesitate not to go about it. There is a place for you, but you will have to go and win it. The rivalries will be sharp; but you have as much chance as any. Your salvation is to come through work. The world honors the man or woman who loves and honors work. It matters little what the work may be; take a step at a time and keep doing it all the time. You will always have knowledge and strength for the next step. Think not so much about the wages as about health and responsibility and the knowledge and skill for more and better work. You are not entitled to exact much yet. Make the best of whatever opens to you. Be prudent, but not overprudent. "A penny saved is a penny earned" is a maxim which is not true. In many a case the penny saved is a dollar lost, and it sometimes happens that it is public respect and fraternal regard lost. Do not stand aloof; certainly do not be a cynic; above all, do not get to be a freak. Keep step with the procession. It is a pretty good crowd and it is generally moving in the right direction. Have standards and stand by them. You can live by yourself and maintain your standards with little trouble, but then the standards will be of small account and you will make no more impression upon life than as though you had never lived. Reinforce yourself all the time. Accumulate a library. While you follow a business with devotion, seek recreation in literature, particularly in the literature of biography and history, that your lives may have more joy in them, that you may gain the inspiration that quickens action, that you may follow your business to the fullest measure of success and round out your years with the fullest regard of the people among whom you live. Be patient. Keep steady. Bide your time. Success in the game will not come by a chance play, no matter how brilliant, so much as by uniform efficiency and unceasing persistence. It is remarkable how men and women go up or down according to the direction they take and the regularity with which they keep at it. If you have a fair foothold at forty, you will be a round success at sixty. Be tolerant, but have faith in things. Do not let your student habit of inquiry and investigation unsettle all the faith that you learned at your mother's knee. Believe in your village, your ward, your city, your state. Sustain a church and at least some of the philanthropic effort that sets rather heavily on one half of the world but ameliorates the hard situations of the other half. Act with a party; yell for a ticket; whoop it up for the flag. Withal, don't take your-

selves too seriously. You will count for more if you do not. See things in sane perspective. Have a sense of humor in your outfit. Cultivate cheerfulness. Love sport, and play for all you are worth. Don't get to be one of the lunatics who work eighteen hours a day, recognize no Sundays, and never take a vacation. Submit to no coercion. Think out what is about right and stand by it. The others will eventually have to come to it. If you find you are in error, back out without attempting to disguise it; the farther on you go the more humiliation you will have. Be a good mixer. Give and take. Meet every obligation. On the basis of common decency make all the friends you can. Then you will carry the spirit of your university with you and do much to pay the debt which you will always owe her.

But be on the alert for special opportunities to help her. Assume not too conclusively that it must be in the conventional way. The unexpected will happen. Half a dozen years ago the richest man in the country became suddenly ill. In the absence of his regular physician he called in a young graduate of the Harvard School of Medicine and impulsively assured him that if he would get him out of that scrape he would pay any charge that he might make. The case was not serious to an educated man. The young man understood the difficulty and soon he wrought the needed cure. No bill was sent and in time it was asked for. The young physician reminded the multimillionaire of the promise. "Oh, yes," he said, "but I assumed, of course, that your charge would be within reason." The doctor's time had come. He said: "I shall make no charge, but I shall ask you to do something for me. The Harvard School of Medicine needs help. I would help her if I could. Under all the circumstances I feel warranted in asking you to look into the matter with a disposition to aid her justly, as you easily may." The old man said, "Would you like to bear a message to President Eliot?" "Yes." "Ask him to come and tell me all about it." In a week the man of wealth had given his pledge to the president of Harvard for a million when the balance should be raised, and in a month the five millions had been assured which have erected and equipped the finest plant for a medical college that is to be found in the wide, wide world.

You may not accomplish all these things, but if you will aim at them, if you will put the training of this university to its logical use, I am sure that when the long shadows come they will bring ease and comfort and honor and that when it is all over there will be peace with the hereafter.

NEW YORK'S OBLIGATIONS TO HER HISTORY

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
AT BUFFALO, SEPTEMBER 17, 1907

We are all geniuses, or copyists. If we were not we would be mere nothings and that would be simply unthinkable. Genius does great things, but it is rare. Very few of us have even a spark of it. If the fact pains us, the bruise is not without its balm. The responsibility of greatness is heavy and the appointments and accompaniments of it are often trying. Geniuses are not always comfortable persons to live with and if we may judge by appearances they do not uniformly have any too good a time of it themselves. Nor is it possible to be entirely confident that one is a genius until after he is dead. Indeed he may be misled himself. An architect may be so deceived that the new buildings within the zone of his influence will be much more original than artistic. An instructor in music in the schools may be so fascinated with his own verse and his own airs that the poor children have to go away from the schools to hear good music at all. There are museums of art which would be more impressive if they would substitute inexpensive copies of masterpieces for their more costly and commonplace originals. There need be no fear of discouraging true genius. It can not be helped by the commonplace. Only through exacting criticisms, indeed only through adversity and struggling, can it come into the possession of its own.

Essentially we are copyists. We do as other people do. In our dress, in our structures, in our food, in our reading and our thinking, even in our ambitions and undertakings we imitate other people. We are very dependent upon our contacts and associations. Character is hammered out upon the anvil of experience. Iron has one price in the ore, another in the pig, another in steel rails, another in razor blades, and yet another in cambric needles or watch springs. All depends upon the processes and the batterings it goes through. It is the same in the world's ratings of men and women. We absorb more than we initiate and doubtless the influences of which we are unthoughtful are deeper than those of which we are particularly reminded.

Association and imitation are natural, agreeable, logical, successful. Separateness is difficult, practically impossible, simulated

rather than real, unprofitable rather than productive. It is well to go into the crowd. No one need be ashamed of copying. It is better to stand for decency in the crowd, and generally we do; to be discriminating in the copying, and ordinarily we are. The common advance which we are bound to recognize proves that, at least since the flood, the majority has kept company with decency and progress. We show the best we have at the fairs and the expositions; we do the best we can when others are looking on; and we copy the attractive, the enduring, the ennobling. We accept those things which stir the self-consciousness which the Almighty has implanted in us. Genius is the instrument of God in the development of mankind, and conventionality is only the respect which intelligence has to pay to the thinking and the usage of the multitude. Our intuitions rest upon good footings; the sentiment of the crowd is almost unerring. It is certainly so where discussion is unrestrained, where there is responsibility for action, and where there is the possibility of free public opinion. There the worthless things are transitory and the best become the constants. There opportunity stands upon the shoulders of accomplishment and ambition mounts to the very peaks of possibility.

With peoples it is the same as with individuals. Where the conscience of mankind has opportunity and expression, the generations are progressive. There may be progress where there is a cleavage in society; where a monarch or an aristocracy determine the policies of the mass and do it with reasonably sound purposes and ordinarily sane thinking; where the inevitable greed of personal advantage and special privilege is held in check by the possibility of a revolution; but there is a nobler, truer, stronger and more rapid progress where all the people have the advantage of free discussion and steady influences of responsibility, where there is interdependence between men and women of all conditions, and where all the thinking and all the ambitions and all the conditions of all the people are factors in determining the law and the policies, the opportunities and the ambitions, of the mass.

Where there is progress there is obligation to what has gone before. Things worth having seldom spring full-fledged and unexpectedly into being. The world's progress is predicated upon conscience and discussion and cooperation and ambition and self-denial and sorrow. Every traveler who has added to our information, every scientist who has unlocked a new truth, every artist who has given us a more beautiful expression of form, every ministering angel who has quickened our sense of brotherhood by

extending succor to a suffering one, every missionary who has carried the cross into the wilderness, every author who has aroused rational imagination or stirred harmless humor or enlarged logical reasoning, every orator who has quickened ambition, every statesman who has stood for the equality of right and the freedom of opportunity, every soldier who has laid down his life for liberty controlled by law, has placed every one of us under obligations to him.

It is so with each of us and equally so with our generation; it is so with our political society, with that closer union of mankind which is imperative to the moral well being of men and women who live together under free institutions. If each of us owes a debt to ennobling and inspiring example, then our generation rests under enduring obligations to other generations which have cleared the wilderness and subdued the soil; which have in battle decided what manner of institutions the country should have; which have written and interpreted and successfully applied humane and just laws; which have accomplished physical undertakings unexcelled by any people; which have erected all of the instrumentalities of intellectual culture known in any land; and have in not a few particulars gone before any people in any land in reaching toward the great ideal ends for which governments are established among men.

The society which I have the honor to address needs no reminder that the history of New York is one of surpassing interest. Even if we make allowance for the patriotic fervor which the native children of the State must have in its career and look at it with the unbiased eye of the philosopher or the historian, we must know that it is a fascinating story. We can not treat much of details tonight but I am sure you will bear with me while I present some phases of the subject which I ought to be able to make of interest to you and which ought to deepen our sense of gratitude to the men and women gone before.

It was fortunate for many reasons that the territory of the State was first settled by Dutchmen. They came with the favor and the aid, and not with the opposition, of their government. They came from a people who were further advanced in the higher learning and in the diffusion of elemental knowledge, and in the arts and crafts and in maritime commerce, and in political freedom and in institutional development than any other nation in the world, not excepting Britain at that time. All this had not come at first hand from the forces which produced our modern civiliza-

tion, for those forces came into operation with the birth of Christianity and seem to have required a thousand and a half of years for their outworking in the intellectual and political as well as the religious development of Europe, but it did come from the first great and successful religious reformation and it did come, as swiftly and directly as ever an arrow sped from a bow, from the first dreadful and decisive war for religious and political freedom that the world had ever seen.

It is true that the Dutch came hither for trade and commerce; it is also true that the motive was a worthy one. It was the natural expanding of a people with newly won freedom. It was the beginning of what we have seen in such abundant measure since. And, whatever the motive, they brought their home feelings and outlook and institutions with them. They made no attempt at a theocracy or an aristocracy. For fifty years, while their little town grew slowly at the mouth of the Hudson and small hamlets were planted upon either side of the river to the north, they quietly and modestly, but firmly and decisively, set up schools and churches and courts and all the institutions of our modern society. They exercised freedom while they observed its limitations and obligations. Of course they introduced the forms and usages of the Netherlands, as they gathered the fruits of their frugality and the energy of their trade.

Even for a hundred years after they were unjustly overthrown by the accumulating power and ambitious designs of the English arms they struggled with their adversaries for the free schools and the free worship which their fathers had established by their valor in the Low Countries. Nor did they struggle in vain. Dutch and English were merged in the fires of the Revolution but in the process of assimilation quite as much of the Dutch as of the English survived. Much in the way of craftsmanship, and diversified agriculture, and domestic thrift, and land tenures, and scientific investigation, and even of the fine arts, and religious toleration, and of political equality, and of cooperative effectiveness endures to this day.

The outcome of the Revolution put a new face upon the affairs of New York more decisively and quickly than upon those of any other state. The men and women of New England then, and not till then, began the unending migration to the westward. The Englishmen who came over the Berkshires had developed for obvious reasons into a different sort of Englishmen from those who had been coming through the Narrows. And it might be ob-

served that those who came through the Narrows after the Revolution must have come with a different outlook and may have spoken in a milder tone than those who came before. Be that as it may, there was not much in common between New York and New England before the Revolution. New England at the close of the eighteenth century was not so very different from old England at the opening of the seventeenth. It was in a state of quiescent and serene religious intolerance which New York had never known. It was a condition which continued there to a later time than anywhere else in the country. New England Puritanism was a noble cult, certainly it was the embodiment of sincerity, of principle, and of character. Quite as certainly it was the embodiment of self-content and of tenacity. But when it came to close quarters with another people of quite as much character, quite as much poise, and quite as much tenacity, the hour had come when a new measure of mutual respect and a new measure of toleration could be the only issue of the contact. And this it was which caused the pledge of absolute religious freedom, of the complete dissociation of worship and of political administration, to be enshrined in the written constitution of New York before it found a place in that of any other state of the Union. It must have been the want of it which caused Massachusetts to be the very last of the original states to put that pledge in her constitution.

When the foundations had been laid the greatness of the Empire State became possible. It had already commenced. But what a labor in the beginning! Those were the days of farms, not of towns and cities. Think of the task of the pioneer farmers among the hills and rocks and unbroken forests between the Hudson and the Montezuma marshes. The western men are accustomed to say that if the early settlers had known of the black, rich land upon the prairies, New England and New York would never have been settled at all: Be that as it may, they were settled and well settled. Clearings were made, and houses were built, and pastures were made ample, and herds were grown. Meadows appeared and great highways were opened. Churches were established in every town; often where there was no town. A school was set up at every crossing of the roads. Sons and daughters in liberal numbers were grown also. All worked with their hands in the house or upon the land. The overwhelming number worked with their heads also. There was no rich or idle class. There was no tenant farming. There was a distinctly new order of rural society, and there was abundant result. All that was needed was produced

on the place. Fresh beef was a little scarce, but lambs and chickens were always at hand. The smokehouse was never empty and the cellar always full. The cooking would honor a palace. Hospitality was as warm as the sunshine and as free as the air. There was much going to and fro, between the busy seasons, and good fellowship and much public enterprise prevailed. There was no meanness under the guise of politeness and no subtle maneuvering to satisfy greed at the cost of another, or if there was it was punished harshly. There was much blunt and sincere and earnest and productive living. The result was a noble state, the first agricultural state in the Union. We lift our hats to the men and women who made it so and we would to God that some turn in the wheel of economics, without taking away what has followed, might bring it all back again.

Of the foundations and the growth of our material prosperity it is necessary to say but little. We have doubtless had some advantage from situation but it has not been an exclusive advantage. There are other great harbors than ours upon the Atlantic coast and other peoples might have built great waterways to the westward. The foresight and courage which put \$9,000,000 into the original building and \$25,000,000 into the enlargement of the canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson long years ago were possible because of the leadership which the State had already gained in trade and commerce. That leadership related back to the energy and the honor of New York merchants in the colonial days. For full forty years the Erie canal was building before a shovelful of earth was turned. It was discussed by statesmen and planned by engineers for all that time. More than once the other states had the opportunity to share in the expense, in the advantage and in the glory and, happily for us, refused. It took a stouter courage to do it than it requires to spend a hundred millions in constructing a ship or barge canal and a hundred and fifty millions in improving the highways now. It made easily possible our great cities and great railways, great buildings and great bridges and marvelous tunnels, and all the other evidences of good government, of material prosperity, and of engineering skill. When we are prone to boast that our leadership in banking and manufactures and commerce has never been in hazard and seems more secure now than ever, it is well to remember that it did not come in a day or a generation and that it might not have come at all but for the foundations which were laid by heroic generations of New York men and women who are gone.

Our educational system is unique, not so much because of what we have done as of what our fathers did. The American educational plan is unique; but the New York educational scheme is unique in the American plan. The Dutch influences have been very considerable and they persist to this day. Our State gives more support to and exercises, when necessary, more control over schools than any other state. The schools are more closely bound together in a state system. There is more done to assure a fair schoolhouse and a suitable school in places where the people are poor or indifferent. Special aid is given to the advanced schools, as nowhere else. All kinds and grades of schools are encouraged and very considerable progress has been made in binding them together in oneness of system. All manner of instructional instrumentalities outside of the schools are looked after and, so far as practicable, made parts of the State educational system. The State has established the standards for admission to the professions upon a plane which is almost prohibitive of professional reciprocity with other states. Our laws and our practices prevent fakes and punish frauds much more drastically than those of our neighbors do. Now and then someone protests against centralized authority. Protests may be healthy in administration. They often serve to keep us in the middle of the road. Surely our policy should not go to the length of supporting schools where they need no aid, nor of using the schools to promote special interests, nor of limiting freedom of teaching, nor of hampering any community in freely managing the business interests of the schools where the management is not a travesty upon sense and a fraud upon rights which are inviolable, nor of doing anything else which is not good for all of the people and all of the moral and intellectual interests of the commonwealth. The fundamental thought of the New York educational system is that the intellectual interests of every child of the State is the common interest of every citizen of the State and of every dollar of valuation in the enormous property of the State. The strong and the rich must help the weak and the poor. It is this that makes the cities raise millions every year beyond what they need for their own schools to aid the schools outside of the cities, as is done in few other states, and in no other state in anything like equal measure. It is this which goes as far as a state can go in equalizing educational opportunity to all. If it discourages novelties in psychology, and freakishness in pedagogy, and graft in administration, it impedes neither the sane thinking nor the rational undertakings of any one. And in any

event, no one who is now living is responsible for it. If one will quarrel with it he must quarrel with men who are dead. It is the distinct and long-time policy of the State. It has developed out of our history. It has developed because of universal state pride and generosity and courage in all that concerns New York, because it was believed to be necessary and has been found to be good, and because the practically universal sentiment believes in it and supports it overwhelmingly. It was commenced as soon as the State could gather up its thoughts and bring together some scattered resources after the practical annihilation they had suffered through the central position which it had held in the War for Independence. It is because the statesmen of New York raised and distributed half a million to aid the schools in the closing years of the eighteenth century, upon a plan that was exclusively their own, that the state tax levy can carry six or seven millions for education in each of the opening years of the twentieth century and no one dissent in any quarter. It is because of the foundations which our fathers laid; because the principle that intellectual evolution is not a matter of local but is rather one of universal concern was made the corner stone of that foundation; that the common sentiment and the accumulating wealth of the people of New York leads them to put seventy millions of dollars each year to the uses of education and open wide the door of opportunity to all within our borders.

The strong and steady unfolding of the professional life of New York is a story which, in any comprehensive or philosophical form, is yet to be written. The family doctor was not a quack; the lawyer was not a pettifogger. Quacks and pettifoggers were even more quickly distinguished and bluntly described in the early days than now. And in the early days there were boys who were glad to wear clothes smutted with honest toil, and happy in working with their hands. Few of them aspired to the professions; and the one fundamental principle that every one must have his equal chance had not been worked out in our system of education then as now. We are at the very front in requiring that the candidate must have at least four years of work of academic grade, four years of work in an approved professional school, the bachelor's degree from an approved institution authorized to confer it, and a certificate earned in the State examinations, before he can practise his profession; but it may well be doubted whether professional capacity is as much regarded by the people of the State as it was a half century ago. Be that as it may, certain it is that

the strong men in the professions were relatively more influential in primitive conditions than now. Medical integrity and experience counted for more when medical knowledge was in its infancy; legal learning was more potent when our unique and independent judicial system was in its experimental stages and precedents rather than principles were necessarily the guides; and the minister, with his hard and fast theology, impressed minds more deeply when he was pretty nearly the exclusive intellectual force in the everyday life of people whose labor was mainly with their hands. And the legal, medical and clerical professions have from the beginning laid New York under heavy obligations to them. Indeed those professions have been so distinguished and the obligations to them are so great that a mere passing reference to them seems altogether lacking in the bare justice which is their due.

Something more than the merest incidental reference to the bearing of the clergy upon the intellectual life of our fathers should be said concerning the religious history of the State. It has already been pointed out that toleration made exceptionally early progress here because of the mixing of two very different and very forceful civilizations. Toleration of religious differences nourishes and propagates pure religion quite as much as it makes for intellectual progress. It brings more respect for reason than for authority, and any religion that is potential must spring from feeling, guided by reason rather than directed by power. Men and women are naturally religious; they respond to control and direction only from the necessities of the situation, and religion is satisfying and potential only where the external expression of it is free and respected. This grows as intelligence advances. Religious freedom and intellectual freedom have aided each other in all ages, the world over. A religious machine with political and military power behind it hinders both moral and mental progress. It looks as though all the world is about to realize this. New York realized it very early and very clearly. Resenting the power of a church in the affairs of the State, assuming universal education as a public charge, and assuring it through the definite support and control of the State, New York, almost from the beginning, was conspicuously helpful to the freedom and the rationality of religious life. It very early forced decisive changes in mere theology and a material decline in mere ecclesiasticism. It did not lessen the spirituality of it. Indeed it widened the application of it. It began to take out of it the absurdities which the

most devout found it very difficult to explain or overlook. It took the pugnacities as well as the absurdities out of it. It attracted human nature, no matter what language it spoke or whether it prayed standing, sitting, kneeling, or with no required posturing; or indeed though it had no form of prayer beyond the breathing of one's feelings to himself. It made for universal brotherhood, for mutual respect, for the common policies by which all could live, for freedom within the State, but for a stronger state to suppress license and excess, and therefore for neighborliness, for co-operation in the industries and in education and in all the things which make the commonwealth great. It would of course be too much to say that this was exclusive with New York, but it is none too much to say that it was unprecedented in New York, that it was the potential cause of the State's early and strong development in people, and in property, and in usefulness, and that we would be thoroughly unjust to the men and women gone before us, and who made it, if we failed to recognize the fact.

Even in such a cursory exploitation of my theme, mention must be made of the scientific work which our State has done, not through its colleges but by its own officials, for at least two full generations. In all of the sciences related to economic interests we have carried research farther by our own agents than any other state has thought of. The indefatigable industry and belligerent disposition of James Hall, for almost sixty years State Geologist, caused the territory of the State to be more completely investigated and charted, geologically, than any other like extent of territory in the world. He loved his science with the enthusiasm of a girl and fought for it with the ferocity of a lion. More than twenty-five years ago I was a member of the ways and means committee of the Assembly when Dr Hall came to appeal for another appropriation to *finish* his paleontology. He had many times given assurances about completing it in order to smooth the road for appropriations, and the committee had become somewhat enlightened and skeptical. They prodded him with the demand that he should fix the limits of time and money necessary to complete the work. "Do you expect science to be bound by laws and contracts?" he demanded. "Yes, and this paleontology business must be settled in this bill or there will be no appropriation," they answered. The old man raised his eyes to Heaven, in disgust more than in prayer, and he brought his clinched fist down upon the table with a bang as he said "My God! that science ever had to wait on the maneuvers of a *legislative committee*." It is super-

fluous to remark that he got his appropriation. He printed much and he had much trouble with unscientific printers. I once heard him say to the State Printer "Mr Van Benthuysen, you tear my theology all to pieces." "How's that?" asked the head of the great printing house. "I don't believe in a hell" he answered, "but there ought to be one to which *printers* could be sent." Be that as it may, I doubt not that if you would ask any scientific man in Europe who had not traveled in America what he thought about the states he would first express his appreciation of the geological and other scientific publications of the State of New York.

And the aid which the State has given to natural science through publication it has also given to history. With a freedom bordering upon prodigality it has printed everything that could be expected from its commanding position or be informing to its people. Perhaps it has not always been discriminating. Very likely the profits of the printers have aided the wisdom of the Legislatures and lent energy to the revolutions of the press, but there is another side to it. They have stimulated scholarship and research and authorship, and all together they have saved much from permanent loss, provided us with an inexhaustible mine of material, and encouraged investigation and authorship for all time to come. More than once this State has sent its agents abroad to rescue scraps of its colonial history from utter loss; many times it has initiated steps for reclaiming important happenings from obscurity or misinterpretation, and always it has shown a quick interest in all that could aid the intellectual virility and balance of its people. And what the State has done the men and women of the State have done. What the State has done, its Board of Regents, its colleges, and academies, and professional schools, its editors and merchants and engineers and historians and governors and legislators, have done to break out its roads and follow them to surprising consummations.

This brings us to a word about our political evolution,—not the story of party contests, but the steady unfolding of political institutions, assuring equality of great opportunity, and bringing forth surprising issues, through the making of laws and the exercise of the powers of government by many millions of widely different people.

Since the first Constitution, made in 1777, we have radically reformed the fundamental instrument of the State government three times, namely, in 1821, 1846 and 1894. In 1867 a constitu-

tional convention prepared a new instrument which was, except as to the judiciary article, rejected by the people. We have adopted sixty-six amendments to the Constitution in twenty different years. It must be observed that we have exhibited confidence, as well as exercised freedom, concerning what is justly held to be a very sacred instrument in meeting new situations. The statutes enacted by the Legislature would, with pardonable exaggeration, make a pile as high as Mount Marcy. The judicial construction, interpretation, adjustment, and annulment of many of these written laws have occupied the industrious attention of a long and learned bench from the beginning.

There are those who are prone to criticize the freedom and the volume of our lawmaking. I have but little sympathy with them. Of course, many things are done inconsiderately and inconsistently. There is little harm except to create the greater need for multiplying judges, and the judges at least will admit that that is not without its compensations.

Under our free and unique system for annulling laws which are in conflict with the Constitution, there is no danger. The overwhelming advantage is in the open channels it makes for the free flow of our democracy and the quick opportunity which it provides for meeting new situations in authoritative ways. Our much legislation has often helped us at what seemed the breaking point. It has been the vehicle of our rapid progress. One state has copied from another and thus it often happens that many states have had the natural advance of twenty years in one. The judiciary of New York, with exceptions so rare as not to be in the reckoning, has always been independent, patriotic, and learned. The law reports of New York are held in unfeigned respect in all parts of the world. The system is unique in nation building; but it is balanced, logical, safe. It was vital to a rapidly growing nation of free and widely different people like ours. It adjusts itself to the multiplying millions, it stops a runaway before the brink is reached, and it gives opportunity to the material, intellectual, and moral progress which all good Americans want. And how the forming of it, and the administration of it trains the ambition, and the freedom, and the knowledge, and the self-restraint, and the sense of responsibility of honest people! How it develops very ordinary men into very efficient leaders! How it opens the possibilities to each and keeps the whole mass moving on!

And the product has been as satisfactory as the method has been logical and free. Here we are, eight millions of people in a

highly organized political society. Since the days when the Dutch and the English liberalized the thinking and added to the strength, the security and the opportunity of each by assimilation, we have received a copious stream of immigration from nearly every people under the sun. History has again and again repeated itself. Apprehension has uniformly given place to new confidence, greater strength, and larger undertakings. Security and opportunity have not grown less, but greater. The new factors have made the fundamental principles of our democratic philosophy more imperative. The statutes and the decisions have more and more reflected the new situations. The making of the law has had to contend with problems that were so new and so hard that it has been halted for the moment, and blundered now and then; but the clarity and the force and the balance which public opinion gains through its operation in the presence of danger have been uniformly triumphant. In spite of the forebodings of the conservatives and the predictions of the pessimists, whom we have always had with us and who are doubtless very necessary wheels in our political machinery, we have come very near proving the practicability of pure democracy through the rational exercise of our political powers.

I shall use but one further illustration to enforce the lesson of my theme. It is an important one,—the story of military accomplishment in the Empire State. I can only allude to it. All the leading nations are now in conference at the Hague for the purpose of promoting international comity by agreement, by arbitration, and by establishing constitutionalism between, as well as within, the political organizations of the peoples of the world. The outworking of Christianity, which has not only enlarged but has diffused learning, and the obvious advantage of common obedience to just law over the mere submission to physical force, are overcoming the brutal disposition to engage in war. But wars have been imperative, if freedom was to triumph over power and right was to compel ignorance and greed to open the door to opportunity. And happy indeed may that people be who have reason enough to know that their religious and educational and institutional heritage did not come through aggressive warfare for the sake of empire or unlawful gain, but did come through the fact that their fathers knew what their natural rights were and had the valor with which to gain them.

There is hardly a county in New York which has not been the scene of heroic struggles. There is scarcely a town without heroic

incident and tradition. Everywhere there are houses bearing the marks of conflict, and here and there are the earthworks and other remains of heavy battles which decided much in the history of America. Once in a while a monument or a tablet proves that a few people have memory and appreciation, but the greater number are too often ignorant or indifferent about the events which make grounds sacred.

When civilization took up its march across this country from east to west, it everywhere found in the Indians subtle and dangerous foes. The struggle, which in its deadly form began with King Philip in New England, in the seventeenth century, has led trails of blood all the way to the Golden Gate and continued quite to our day. Nowhere was it so bitter as in New York, for the Iroquois were the royalists of Indian life. It is idle to doubt or debate the moral rights of the matter now. A great land must inevitably go to the people who will put it to its best uses. Legal or moral title to the earth's surface must rest upon something more than savage uses. White civilization might well have paid some other price than the one it did to extinguish any rights in the soil which roving wild men had in it. It was certainly so where the foe to its progress was so subtle in diplomacy and so savage in war as the Five Nations. The tribute they exacted was the blood of the settlers without discrimination. They terrorized every cabin and filled the land with horror; but they made warriors and strategists and statesmen of pioneer farmers.

Until close to the hour of the Revolution the northern border of New York was the mainly inhabited frontier of English civilization in America. Our territory was the base of military operations and, so far as we had men to serve, they were in the forefront of the battalions which determined by their valor that the predominant power and the enduring civilization in America, with all that that fact implies, was to be English rather than French. Indeed the most of the hardest fighting was upon our soil. The names of Niagara and Frontenac should signify something very different from what they do; there should be something very unlike a summer hotel where Fort William Henry stood; and the neglected and crumbling ruins at Ticonderoga,—the key to the strategic situation and scene of historic events in two wars for English freedom in America, might well be cherished and protected by the State, for they are the noblest expression we have or can have of the times which both tried men's souls and made men great.

The conditions which made New York fighting ground in the French and Indian wars made it even more so after Canada had passed over to the English crown and the war for American independence was on. In the beginning Britain was organized and in possession and if she could hold this territory she would cut the embryonic republic in twain and triumph in the end. By intrigue, gifts and abhorrent promises the Indians had been brought into sympathy and service with the crown. The white settlements were far apart. The skulking foes that infested the woods on every side were quite as dangerous as the British regulars who lived in camps and moved in brigades. While our only seaport was held by the invading army from the beginning to the end of the struggle, the yeoman of the interior cleared their territory of both regulars and savages before, in point of time, the bitter conflict was halfway over. Of course, they did not do it alone but they certainly held the right of the line that did do it. The grades and the waterways from the mouth to the headwaters of the Hudson and then from the head of Lake George to the outlet of Champlain may be said in all truth to have been the veritable warpath of the Revolution. Nature made it so. The highest point in the whole distance is less than a hundred and fifty feet above the level of the sea. Considerably more than half of the three hundred and fifty miles was navigable by the largest vessels and all but twenty miles of it could be traversed by smaller craft. It was well known for it had been the trail of the savages, "the dark and bloody ground," for centuries. Practically the same was true of the beautiful valley from the mouth to the source of the Mohawk. The only place where the Atlantic watershed breaks through the Appalachian mountains is at Little Falls. The route is practically level and has almost as short a carry between the headwaters of the Mohawk and those of Oneida lake as that upon the other trail. Small craft may be floated all the way from Ontario to the Atlantic.

When it was evident that neither New England nor the mouth of the Hudson could be held by the Americans, the eyes of both combatants turned to these natural thoroughfares between our great harbor which was the comfortable rendezvous of the British navy, and Canada the hospitable base and stronghold of the British army. Something more than eyes were turned. The first substantial feat of American arms was in the capture of Crown Point and Ticonderoga. The first American navy was upon Lake Champlain. The most comprehensive and strategic campaign of the

British forces in the entire war embraced the advance of one army up the Hudson, of another from Canada up Lake Champlain and Lake George, and of a third across Lake Ontario and down the Mohawk. With bombast and bluster and tripping step they were to occupy these thoroughfares, make a junction at Albany and grasp the key to the situation. The western army was annihilated at Oriskany by the sturdy yeomen in the valley, after they had lost a larger percentage of dead and wounded than was suffered by American troops in any other engagement in the war. The northern army under the proudest general of the crown, haughtily boasting that "Britains never retreat" marched directly to decisive defeat and humiliating surrender at Saratoga. When the news of Oriskany and Saratoga reached the southern army it turned about and imitated the lower Hudson in its hurried and limpid course to the sea. And when all this was followed by Sullivan's conclusive punishment of the Iroquois and their allies in the Wyoming valley, the rest was largely a matter of endurance until the King should tire of the waiting and the expense, or the cabinet should give way to another which would stand again for the fundamentals of English liberty.

We must lay no claim to what is not justly ours. But we owe it to our fathers and to our children to prevent literary fiction and much repetition from perverting a true understanding of historic facts. The first blood of the Revolution was spilled in New York and not in Boston.¹ Every home in our sparsely settled State was in deadly danger from the capture of Ticonderoga till the annihilation of the Indians from the Hudson river to the Genesee country. What memories the names of Cobleskill, Schoharie,

¹ As this statement has been questioned since the address was delivered, it seems well to say that reference was made to the conflict at Golden hill (now John street) between Cliff street and Burling slip, on January 18, 1770. The Patriots having erected a "Liberty Pole," the King's troops quartered in the city destroyed it on the night of January 16. The next day a meeting of citizens resolved that any soldiers found in the night with arms, or out of barracks after roll call and behaving in an insulting manner, should be treated as enemies to the peace of the city. On January 18 scurrilous placards, impugning the motives and character of the Sons of Liberty, and signed "The Sixteenth Regiment of Foot" were posted about the city. Three soldiers caught posting one of these placards were seized by citizens and taken before the mayor. A company of soldiers came to release their companions. A conflict ensued and in the course of the day there was a second one, in which one citizen was killed, three wounded, and a large number more or less injured. It was much the same kind of an affair as the Boston Massacre, which occurred March 5, 1770, a month and a half later. The Golden hill affair, therefore, was undoubtedly the first armed conflict resulting in the shedding of blood in the Revolution.

Cherry Valley, Springfield, Canajoharie, German Flats, Minisink and many others may well revive? Oriskany in severity and in results was a heavier battle than Bunker Hill. Saratoga was the decisive engagement of the war. Of course, all that was done in New York was not done by New York men but with main reliance upon volunteer soldiers the men of a state were necessarily at the forefront of any warfare within their borders. At Oriskany the New York Militia put British regulars, and Tories, and Indians to the sword. There the flag of the United States was first unfurled in battle. Forced by their situation to bear the leading part in the Revolution, the men of New York, as Wayne wrote Washington of the men who captured Stony Point, "behaved like men determined to be free."

There is no need to speak of the course of this State in the second war with Great Britain, in the unnecessary and unjust war with Mexico, in the awful struggle to save the Union from overthrow by the slave power, or in the expulsion of Spain and the protection of Cuba. We have never sought quarrels. We have had interests which quickened the wish of rational men and women to live at peace with our neighbors and all the world. But the State of New York never turned from a duty. Whenever she has deemed it necessary to exercise force she has done it with a spirit and a completeness which emphasize another phase of the debt which all of her children owe her.

There is much more to be said, but little more can be said tonight. No one knows better than the members of the State Historical Society, of whom I am happy in being one, how very fragmentary has been my treatment of a great theme. Your knowledge of the breadth and depth of the subject and of the limitations which the need of brevity imposes upon a speaker will make you considerate of the inadequacy of the presentation. Possibly the brief form, which may easily be placed before many people, may signify to increased numbers something of our neglect of our history and somewhat of our duty to the men and women who have made it.

Our fathers were not much given to leaving records for their children. Those children have been frequently unmindful, often indifferent, sometimes inaccurate. We have uniformly been engrossed with innumerable activities and the very volume of our history makes it difficult to popularize it. Many have come among us in later years who are valiantly helping us to make more his-

tory, who can not easily appreciate our early history, for they are a part of the story of another people struggling for the democracy which has come to be more stable here than in any other land under the sun. The writers of American history have, for the most part, lived in other states and they have written under the spell which other associations impose upon them. We have not been much aided by song and story; at times we have been injured by literary humor which other peoples seemed unable to grasp. The children in the schools, often the students in the colleges and universities, more often still the men and women of our busy cities and towns, know but little of the splendid story and appreciate all too lightly the obligations which it imposes.

If we could mend this, if we could stir popular enthusiasm, if we could quicken investigation by scholars and present the results in more popular form, if we could effectuate a deeper and more general appreciation of the fundamental causes of the primacy and the power of the State, we would at one and the same time give justice to the past and invaluable service to the future. The government of the State will give any proper aid which the thoughtfulness of this society, the work of scholars, or the patriotism of the people, will seriously suggest.

But, after all, the writing of history is not the only way of expressing our obligations to the makers of it. Here we are, eight millions of every kind of people that the sun ever shone upon, proving the stability and the potentiality of a pure democracy. We are not in peril; we confide absolutely in our security. Discussion is freer, sentiment makes more rapidly, and conclusions are surer and sounder than ever before. We can do anything we think well to do. The commercial primacy of the State seems sure enough but endless measures are in progress to make it doubly sure. The national centers of the publishing business, of finance, and of manufactures are within our borders. The problem of absolute democracy in religion has worked out to a complete solution. So the great problem of democracy in education is well advanced and the solution is inevitable. We are just now in the midst of the complete applications of the fundamental principles of our democracy to our industries. We are beginning to make and enforce laws which will promote all the just interests of both capital and labor and limit the improper exercise of the organized power of each. Our children will wonder that we had so much trouble making it clear that the common power can be used only in

the common interest, and that in our business, as well as in our religion, our education, and our politics, every child of the nation is to have his free and equal chance. If we make it completely so, as seems likely enough, we shall show to all the world that democracy opens opportunity to moral and material progress, and we shall discharge a part of the obligation which our generation of freemen owes to the generations of freemen who have gone before.

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We have very exact information about the number of people in the United States who are illiterates. By an "illiterate" we mean a person who is ten years old or more and can not write in any language. It is generally true that if one can not write he can not read.

The proportion of illiterates is smaller than it used to be. In 1870 there were 200 illiterates to each 1000 of population; in 1880 there were 170; in 1890 there were 133; in 1900 there were 107.

The accompanying table will show the number of illiterates to each 1000 people in the various states in 1900.

These figures are from the census, but a table from election returns showing the number of illiterate voters per thousand people in each state is so nearly the same that it confirms the substantial accuracy of the census figures.

We may be interested to see how the number of illiterates in our states compares with the number in the best educated countries of Europe.

In every nine voters we have one full grown man who can not read or write. We have no basis of exact comparison, but there are related and authentic figures which are more convincing than comforting.

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF ILLITERATES IN EACH THOUSAND OF POPULATION BY CENSUS OF 1900

Iowa	23	Colorado	42
Nebraska	23	Indiana	46
Kansas	29	Idaho	46
Washington	31	Wisconsin	47
Utah	31	California	48
Oregon	33	South Dakota	50
Ohio	40	Maine	51
Wyoming	40	New York	55
Minnesota	41	Oklahoma	55
Illinois	42	North Dakota	56
Michigan	42	Vermont	58

Massachusetts	59	Kentucky	165
New Jersey	59	Arkansas	204
Connecticut	59	Tennessee	207
Pennsylvania	61	Florida	219
Montana	61	Virginia	229
New Hampshire	62	North Carolina	287
Missouri	64	Arizona	290
Rhode Island	84	Georgia	305
Maryland	111	Mississippi	320
West Virginia	114	New Mexico	332
Delaware	120	Alabama	340
Nevada	133	South Carolina	359
Texas	145	Louisiana	385

The Imperial Bureau of Statistics at Berlin informs us that of all the recruits in the German army in 1903, but 1 in 2500 was illiterate. In Sweden and Norway it was but 1 in 1250; in Denmark, 1 in 500; in Switzerland, 1 in 166; in Holland, 1 in 40; in France, 1 in 16. In 1902, in England and Scotland, 1 man in 40 and 1 woman in 40 were unable to write their names when married. In other words, we appear to have more than four times as many illiterates as there are in England and Scotland, and infinitely more than there are in Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and the German Empire.

About four fifths of our American illiterates were born, or their parents were born, among the most unfavored people of the Old World. But that fact must not lead us to suppose that we have but few illiterates born in this country. The fact is, that in many of our states we have more illiterates whose parents are natives than those whose parents are foreign born. In New York State in 1900 there were 29,188 of the former and 18,162 of the latter. And New York is not at all exceptional.

If we expect to find a larger percentage of illiteracy in the cities than in the country, we must be disappointed. The percentage of illiteracy in New York City, and in our other large cities, is less than in many rural counties, and is not greater than in the average rural county. The percentage of illiterates who are American born is much larger in the country than in the cities. Indeed, there are few if any rural counties which show so small a percentage of native illiterates as the largest cities show. The city and county of New York has a smaller percentage of illiterates who are the

children of foreign born parents than any other county in the State of New York.

This may indicate how much more convenient the schools are in the city than in the country, and how much better the school attendance and child labor laws are enforced in the cities than in the country; but it also indicates that immigrant parents in the cities voluntarily send their children to school more regularly than do native born parents living in the country.

The facts clearly show that illiteracy is less prevalent in cities of more than 25,000 inhabitants than in smaller cities. They show that illiteracy is more common above twenty-five years of age than between ten and twenty-five. Illiteracy among children is rapidly decreasing in all sections of the country.

There is more illiteracy among women than men, but the difference is growing less, and it seems probable that before long there will be more among men than women.

Our American states are spending much more money for popular education than is spent by the same number of people in any other country in the world. Why do we have so many unlettered people above ten years of age, and particularly why do we have so many more than they have in England, Scotland, Holland, Switzerland, Norway or Germany?

The answer to this question is not very difficult. There are at least three reasons for it:

First. We are now receiving vast numbers of immigrants from countries where illiteracy is very prevalent. It has not always been so. We formerly got most of our immigrants from the more intelligent countries of the Old World. Now we are getting most from the less favored nations. Although there is no reason for fear that their children can not be educated and assimilated, both parents and children do add much to our percentage of illiteracy. But we get many immigrants from countries having less illiteracy than we have. One class somewhat offsets the other. It is hard to know what to do with illiterates who want to come to America from other lands. It is difficult, perhaps wrong, to deny them the privilege of coming, but clearly the matter requires much attention.

Second. We undertake more in our schools than other nations do in theirs, but the leading nations of Europe do what they undertake much more generally and completely than we do. In other words, in Europe there are classes and much caste. The people who have made and who execute the laws have not reasoned that

every child ought to have a chance to get a liberal education, but they have reasoned that for the good of the nation every child must be required to go to school regularly between about six and fourteen years of age, that he may be sure of an elementary education.

Third. They enforce school attendance laws more systematically and completely in many other countries than we do. Unhappily, the common sentiment of America does not sustain the enforcement of laws requiring the attendance of children at school, as the common sentiment of many other countries does. We have much more freedom in this country than many other countries have, but we have more false ideas about freedom than many of them have. There is the pinch.

Much depends upon the importance which in the popular mind attaches to the matter of sending children to school, and that in turn depends very largely upon what the government does.

I once heard a prominent official in Berlin say that he was sure that there were not ten children in that city, of a million and a half people, out of school that day who ought to be there. The necessity of having children in school has been inbred in the life and thought of the German people. All their plans were made to conform to it. The enforcement of laws or royal decrees for a long time has trained the common sentiment, and resulted in a universal usage. It is thought as necessary to have children go to school regularly as to have them eat regularly.

There is no doubt about the methods by which illiteracy may be reduced to a negligible quantity. It is to be done through complete statistics, through exact registration, through requiring that every child within fixed ages shall be in school—unless sick—whenever the schools are in session, through holding the parents more than the children responsible, and through seeing that every child is actually accounted for.

In the table of states set forth at the beginning of this article all the states before Maryland have compulsory attendance laws, somewhat, although not very completely, enforced. West Virginia, Nevada and Kentucky have such laws, very much neglected. The other states have none. Look again at the figures opposite the names of the states, and see the difference in results.

Experience is showing us very clearly what especial provisions must be placed in school attendance laws before they will accomplish their ends. Very briefly these may be enumerated as follows:

They must assert that every American child has the inherent right to an elementary education. It is a sacred right, which no one, not even a parent, may be allowed to defeat. They must require attendance of every child within fixed ages at school whenever the schools are in session unless excused for imperative cause by a responsible educational officer. They must punish parents with *fine and imprisonment* for not seeing that their children are in school.

It makes no difference whether the school is public or private. The public and private schools must cooperate. An up to date and reliable registration of all children is imperative, and every one must be accounted for. Nothing but sickness or disability or a death in the family or some overwhelming cause can be accepted as an excuse. Farmers have no more right to keep their children at home for farmwork or housework than people in the slums of the cities have to keep their children from school to sell papers or go begging.

Ample school accommodations are to be provided and evening schools maintained. School attendance laws and child labor laws must conform to each other, and the officers of the school departments and the labor departments must cooperate. Local authorities must have no option about enforcing the laws. And any officer of the school system or any public official who winks at violations of school attendance laws, or who refuses to enforce their penalties according to their intent, must be sharply punished for it.

To this end the common sentiment must be quickened. Surely the people of the United States are not willing to admit that we are permanently to have more ignorant men and women in this country than they have in other civilized countries.

Perhaps there is a factor in this problem that springs out of English and particularly of American history, and lies deep down in the nation's caution and self-consciousness. Americans are fundamentally opposed to any unnecessary meddling with their affairs by the government. They have always had great confidence in a resourcefulness which seems able to meet any actual peril when the time comes. They attach the greatest importance to the free chance for every one.

It begins to look as if it is quite as important to look after the rights of those who can not look after their own rights to an elementary education as to hold out to the few the opportunities for an advanced education.

If it is no more important, it is *as* important. And it will be a crowning glory to our republican system if the nation will put away its youthful vanity, submit with cheerfulness to the regulations which really enlarge liberty, deepen the common respect for the law by enforcing it, meet difficulties in practical ways, and make certain that *all of its children have the elements and instruments of knowledge* as well as that the stronger ones have the chance to scale the mountain peaks of learning.

A FEDERAL EDUCATIONAL PLAN NEEDED

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THE EDITORS

There is very little adaptation of instruments or of administrative methods to ends, very little that is expressive of professional experience and opinion, and practically nothing in the way of logical scheme, or comprehensive plan, or progressive outlook, about the educational arrangements of the federal government. Congressional legislation has ordinarily resulted from isolated and political initiative, and executive officers have resorted to expedients, both good and bad, to meet passing exigencies. It has never been understood that the general government had large or continuing educational responsibilities, and now, when it is clear enough that it has, the plans for meeting them are illogical and inadequate.

There is excuse for the situation, but none for not mending it. The federal Constitution contains no mention of schools. Aside from a brief and barren suggestion of a national university, there was, so far as we know, no discussion of education in the Constitutional Convention. It was not an ignorant or obtuse convention. Twenty-nine of the fifty-five members were college bred, and of the twenty-six who were not, Washington and Franklin were two. Six members of the convention were clergymen. The convention clearly assumed that, so far as education was a function of government, it was a function of the states. There were less than a dozen primitive colleges in the country which had been chartered by the king, but in each case it had been done at the instance of one of the colonies, and the resulting college had become the college of the colony and then of the state. Several of the state constitutions had already provided for colleges. State-supported systems of elementary schools had not yet been provided by law or established in fact, but things were beginning to move rather strongly, for in the next half dozen years definite and decisive beginnings in that direction were made. Wherever there was a state, the state had done and expected to do it all. Where there was no state, Congress felt responsibility and acted freely. Even before the Constitutional Convention the Continental Congress had, in 1785, reserved the lot no. 16, and one third of all gold,

silver, lead, and copper mines, for the maintenance of schools in each township which should be laid out in the Northwest Territory. And all are familiar with the provision in the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of that territory, that "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." So it is evident that the very definite and common understanding at the time of making the "more perfect union" must have been that the federal government had distinct responsibility about schools and morals in federal territory beyond the limits of organized states, but that this function was reserved to the states wherever there were or whenever there should be organized states.

The practice has squared with this understanding. Congress has often legislated upon, and federal executive officers have never hesitated to act upon, school matters in the territories; never in the states. The United States government has several times made gifts to education in the states, and has sometimes made these conditional upon certain acts by the states, but it has never invaded the principle that wherever there is a state the educational system is a state system, over which the state government holds the exclusive and sovereign authority.

The United States government in 1867 created a federal Bureau of Education, which gathers and distributes educational information from and to all parts of the world, and has become a sort of clearing house for information concerning the schools for all of the states of our Union; but it has never been invested with the slightest *authority* over any matter within the limit of a state. The present object, however, is not to emphasize that fact so much as to point out that this organized and quite natural instrumentality of federal educational administration has never been utilized to meet the national responsibility for schools, recently much enlarged, or to propagate educational activities outside of the schools, in federal territory, and to inquire why.

Let us recall the situation which has grown up. In the territories of Arizona, Hawaii, New Mexico, and Oklahoma there are superintendents of public instruction, appointed by the territorial governors. The superintendents report to the Governors, who are appointed by the President, and the Governors make occasional references to education in their reports to the Secretary of the Interior. There is no professional and no located respon-

sibility. The Bureau of Education has nothing whatever to do with the matter.

In the District of Columbia the management of the schools is intrusted to a board of education appointed by the judges of the Supreme Court of the district. This board appoints a superintendent of schools. The schools are supported, one half by the district and one half by the United States. The Bureau of Education has no relation to the subject. Once, at least, when the school system of the district got into a muddle, the United States Commissioner of Education was asked to intervene and straighten things out, but that was only a temporary expedient in an emergency.

Congress makes annual appropriations for the schools of the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole nations in the Indian Territory, and the Secretary of the Interior appoints a Superintendent of Schools for the territory; but, again, the Bureau of Education has nothing to do with it.

The other Indian schools are under a superintendent appointed by the President, who reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and is under the directions of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior. The United States Commissioner of Education is allowed no official word concerning them.

A dual administrative scheme for managing schools seems to be deemed necessary for Alaska. Schools for white children and civilized children of mixed blood are under the supervision of the Governor, who is ex officio Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Congress makes appropriations for schools for natives, which are subject to the Secretary of the Interior and are in some measure, at his pleasure, committed by him to the Commissioner of Education.

The Military and Naval Academies are wholly subject to the Secretaries of War and of the Navy, and no distinct school man carries the light of his guild into the recesses of their affairs.

The educational activities of the Department of Agriculture have been much expanded and accelerated in recent years. Through appropriations to the agricultural colleges and experiment stations the federal authority has already made rather long, but perhaps pardonable, inroads into old-time fundamental principles, but the Federal Bureau of Education has no word about them.

Perhaps, above all, the war with Spain brought to the people, and particularly to the government, of the United States, for the

first time, the difficult problems associated with the education of great numbers of unlettered people in somewhat densely settled territory under conditions wholly new to us.

As to Porto Rico, Congress provided that the President should appoint a Commissioner of Education who supervises public instruction and approves all disbursements on account thereof. The only function of the United States Commissioner of Education in this connection is that the law directs the Porto Rico Commissioner to make such reports to Congress as the United States Commissioner requires. The obfuscation assured by legally empowering an officer to define the reports which another officer with whom he has nothing else to do shall make to Congress is a novelty in legislation.

The general direction of educational matters in the Philippine Islands is committed to the Secretary of Public Instruction of the islands, who is a member of the Philippine Commission. The United States Commissioner, or Bureau, of Education has not the slightest official relation to education in the Philippine Islands. All the functions exercised in the United States in that behalf are vested in the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department.

The educational system of Cuba was reorganized in some measure during our military occupancy, but it was exclusively a military matter.

The reason for the lack of logical plan about all this has already been suggested, but what is the reason why no one in position to accomplish things seems to have thought of the desirability of correlating the growing educational work of the government and giving it the advantage of guidance by the Federal Bureau of Education?

It can not be because the national bureau has been in inefficient hands. It has never been without a highly capable and efficient commissioner at its head. During all of the forty years of the existence of the bureau the commissioner has been a man of very high public standing, and nearly all of that time he has been one of the foremost educationists of the country. For the seventeen years just prior to the recent appointment of Dr Elmer Ellsworth Brown to the office, and while our insular cares were developing, the commissioner has not only been a man much experienced in teaching and in the practical supervision of schools, but he has been the sanest educational philosopher and the readiest and most inspiring writer in the country upon the widest range of educational themes. There were strong men in the office before Dr

Harris. The present commissioner was appointed for ample reasons. The staff of the bureau has always embraced many educational experts whose services have been widely recognized by the people who are best informed. The one thing needful to the bureau has been real school work to do.

The government has not been studying the logic of the situation. It has permitted itself to be moved by inexperience, if not sordidness, and it has met exigency with makeshift. The fact that the makeshift was perhaps temporarily necessary ought not to be allowed to develop it into a permanent policy. We were all proud that the American regular troops could temporarily provide teachers for the Philippines, and it was a distinct administrative accomplishment to secure a thousand teachers of pretty fair general average, and to transport them to and get them at work among such a far away people, without incurring criticism of the details of the heavy task. But even the powerful influence and excellent ways of Secretary Taft, who knows much about schools, can not transform the atmosphere of the War Department into a permanent stimulant to constructive work in education.

It is important to education in all territory over which the flag of the Union floats that the principle shall be firmly established that the spirit of the common school system bars all partizanship from its administration, and also that the proper organization and administration of the schools claim professional and expert service of a very distinct order. The educational system is not a thing upon which any party or class or sect can be allowed to uplift itself, and the administration of the system is not a thing to be held of minor importance and tossed about in divers departments which manage the conspicuous and imperative affairs of a great government. It is obviously as important that these principles shall be asserted in our territories and among our island peoples as in the already organized states. Indeed, it is much more important in remote federal territory than in our states, because in such territory there is not that public sentiment which quickens and guides and limits official action in educational administration as in our states, where American feeling prevails, and institutions have taken form, and the philosophy of our educational system is understood and accepted.

We have recently been reminded by Secretary Root that the states must do some things better than they are doing them, or the Union will have to do them from obvious necessity. The suggestion was timely and has attracted considerable criticism

without much reason, for it was only equivalent to saying that we shall find the way for doing what the better and clearly developed sentiment of the country deems it necessary and wise to do. Carlyle sums up the reasons for the failure of the Constitution of the Constituent Assembly of France in the words, "The Constitution would not *march*." The reason our Constitution has succeeded is in the fact that Marshall broke out roads for it and trained it in *marching*. But if it had "marched" generally as it has in education, it is to be feared that it would be taking a long and needed rest now.

If we were to apply federal school policies to the State which is so proud of Mr Root, we would reduce the New York State Education Department to the function of getting information about schools when school officers are anxious to supply it, and to giving benevolent advice about schools when people will considerately come and listen. We would appoint superintendents of schools in our large cities through the mayors, and have them report to the Legislature through the Secretary of State, when they feel like it. We would annex the schools in the St Lawrence valley to the Agricultural Department, and those in the southern tier of counties to the Labor Department. And we would notify Long Island, stretching to the remote east and likely to be involved in wars over righteousness when the President comes home, that hereafter it will have to pay respects to the Adjutant General, and that its schools must begin to share supervision with the National Guard. In all seriousness, we would have to go back in the history of the State for more than fifty years, when the Secretary of State was Superintendent of Common Schools, and all school management, both local and general, was practically at one with politics. And no matter how far we might go back, we should find nothing to equal the inconsistency of having a completely organized, capable, and nonpartisan instrumentality for school administration ready at hand and refusing to use it.

We all know how inevitably the influences which are at the top of an administrative organization soon bear upon appointments therein and in time affect the conduct and shape the character of all who are connected with it. It must be so as to federal schools. This is not blaming federal officers. They are entitled to commendation for very good administration under untoward and perverse circumstances. The desirability of popular control wherever there is the enlightenment which may safely exercise it, and of the association of laymen with pedagogues in the manage-

ment of schools, is of course recognized. Even then it is necessary to observe the fundamental principles which underlie our educational policies and to effect the kind of organization and move upon the lines which experience has shown to be essential to results in administration. The business side of federal or territorial schools may properly enough rest with business officials, but the professional side ought clearly to be in the charge of professional men and women. The government of the United States has not yet got upon the correct lines of procedure in education. The reason is not far afield. It is found in politics and in officialism. Territorial governors, members of Congress, department officials, never wave aside any opportunity to make appointments, and when the occasion arises for the United States Commissioner of Education to contend with them about educational policies in the corridors and committee rooms of the national Capitol, the commissioner can not bring himself to do it, and he would seem weak indeed if he tried.

If the United States bureau is to be confined to statistics and information, it would seem better that it be not permitted to be regarded as an *administrative* or *propagating* instrument of the federal government at all. In that case it might better be completely made up of statisticians and editors, and constituted a section in the Census Office. It would there have definite and undoubted *authority to do something*.

But that is not what is needed. With a comprehensive plan, and concentrated administration, and actual responsibilities, the federal education office would attain such significance that it could get the attention of Congress and the country. Again, the experience of the government in dealing with one class of schools would be quickly available in dealing with every other class. The government needs, for example, to make a serious and scientific study of the whole matter of adapting our philosophy and practice concerning common schools to irresponsible, dependent, non-Caucasian peoples, and can do it more completely and quickly through a unified organization in which all of the conditions and all of the experiences may be brought to bear upon one another. Yet, again, the very enlargement of the national bureau through bringing together the number of people who are now engaged, at Washington, in looking after federal schools, would bring together, in time, if not at once, a much stronger body of educational experts; and it would insure for each interest, in large measure, the combined judgment of all. All this would develop

a new class of educational literature which would be of service to all the world. There is a distinct financial loss to the school work which the government is trying to do, through the lack of comprehensive plan; and there is a distinct moral loss to the nation, and to education the world over, because of the freakish and fragmentary methods which are being employed.

But perhaps a weightier consideration than any that has yet been suggested remains to be mentioned. There are needed educational activities outside of the schools. Libraries, study clubs, home study, are within the functions of democratic government. It is hard to set things right after they have got started in the wrong way. The farther they have gone in the wrong way the harder it is. The federal educational activities not only need to be related together so that they may support one another, and they not only need to be systematized and professionalized, but they need to be extended and sanely energized, made universal, and charged with responsibility for all manner of educational activities in all federal territory.

Why should our federal Union maintain at its Capitol an educational office without using it? If it is to maintain such an office, why should it neglect and belittle it? Why should it make the pay of the commissioner so small and his functions so insignificant that any man fit to speak for the nation upon education must suffer humiliation before he is allowed to do it? Why not have a definite federal educational plan, which is above partizanship, and an educational organization worthy of such a nation? Why longer allow education to seem to come after everything else in the federal scheme, when the conditions are here which ought to put it to the fore? Why not recognize the principles which are fundamental, and the policies which are fruitful, and the concentration which will of itself effect large and lasting accomplishments in education? In a word, why does not some strong hand that is able to do things go about a reorganization at Washington which will enable the government to increase its educational efficiency, logically meet its responsibilities to its new subjects, and at the same time set a good example to all of the states and all of the world? And what could be more fitting than that the name of the President who has really accomplished so very much for the intellectual progress of the nation should forever be identified with legislation reorganizing the educational activities of the federal government upon a logical, effectual, and enduring plan?

NATIONAL SYSTEMS OF EDUCATION

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All of the nations laying claim to any part in the civilization of the world sustain some kind of a system of common instruction. This is not only true now but it has been true as far back as history runs. Even the pagan nations which have consistently defied civilizations have held and exemplified certain ethical principles, various classes of knowledge, and many interesting and expert accomplishments which they have taught to their young. Some of the nations which we would not quickly classify as civilized maintain not only schools, but schools of differing grades and in some cases they are related together in systems of very considerable organized efficiency. The civilized nations have all developed, either under public or private control, institutions comprising school systems, often extending from the kindergarten to the university, and in many cases they have added elaborately equipped and purposeful educational systems going far beyond the functions of schools. The monarchial governments have educated a favored class more or less exclusively, giving but the rudiments of knowledge to the masses. The democratic governments have opened schools and other educational instrumentalities more and more to all the people. We are to present here, in a necessarily general way, the salient features of these different national systems of education, and will begin with those of the simplest form and the least international pretensions, and later take up those which are more ambitious and more elaborately and expensively organized. The order of presentation, however, must not be taken to indicate any close or deliberate arrangement of these different systems in the order of their excellence. It is not practicable to present all, or to present any very completely, and the order of arrangement is not to be taken as significant of merit beyond the general fact that we begin with the simpler and proceed to the more complex forms of organization and administration.

China. China has undoubtedly maintained a system of instruction for the children of the higher class and propagated certain very definite philosophical theories for thousands of years. The Imperial government provides a system of examinations, but leaves the training to parents or guardians. Schools are mainly supported by pri-

vate subscriptions. The rich employ tutors for their sons. The girls count for little. The conditions of the masses are hard. Some classes maintain clan schools for their own children. Charity schools, supported by philanthropy, exist here and there. The best schools are conducted by the missionaries. The greater number of children are mainly without education. In recent years the Imperial government has established a university, a normal school, and a school of languages, and some of the provincial governments have opened colleges and military and naval academies. One province is attempting a system of graded schools. The whole school system is inchoate. Control by parents and filial regard for parents are national fetishes, regardless of the fitness of the parent for the exercise of control or for worship, and no duty of the state to the ignorant child of the masses is anywhere asserted.

Spain. Spain has a system of primary schools. It is supported by local funds. The municipalities are by law charged with maintaining schools but the obligatory provisions do not seem to be much enforced. Worse than all, there is apparently but little educational sentiment. It seems strange that a people with such a long and, in some regards, an heroic history — almost conquering the world at one time — and a people with so much artistic feeling and so many polite accomplishments should have so little educational initiative. But it is so little that in the absence of government support and compulsion the schools are disjointed and often superficial. So far as the scheme of the educational laws goes it seems well enough, but it fails in the vital points of application and compulsion. Primary instruction is divided into three classes, viz: first, instruction for infants between three and six years, elementary instruction between six and nine, and superior instruction for children between nine and twelve. The work covers the ordinary primary subjects familiar in America. Some advanced schools are being developed and in many of the provinces there are normal schools for training teachers. The teachers' salaries seem to be determined somewhat by the size of the towns and vary from \$150 to \$900 per year. In addition to the absence of educational sentiment and initiative there is the no less notable absence of higher institutions to give zest and guidance to elementary schools. A census taken in 1860 shows that 20 per cent of the population could read and write, that 4.6 per cent could read only and that 73.3 per cent could neither read nor write; a census taken in 1889 shows that 28.5 per cent could read and write, that 3.4 per cent could read only, and that 68.1 per cent could neither read nor write; the last census, taken

in 1900, shows that out of a total population of 18,607,674 there were 11,869,486, or 63 per cent who could neither read nor write. Here is an ancient empire with history and traditions, conspicuous position and great resources, with extraordinary culture of a kind, and with varied refined accomplishments, and yet the masses are in sodden ignorance. It is not because of the lack of laws nor because there are no schools. It is because the laws are meaningless, because of false views of life, because Spanish history, with all of its valor, has not made for true civilization.

Italy. In Italy at least one lower grade school is required to be maintained in every commune. Communes of more than 4000 inhabitants must establish a high school. Classical instruction is provided in about a thousand institutions and technical instruction in about 400 advanced technical schools. There are many universities, of more or less importance. The leading libraries and art galleries are extremely rich in their possessions. These institutions exert a very considerable influence upon the intellectual life of the kingdom, as they certainly do upon the culture of the world.

Attendance upon the elementary schools seems to be enforced, but it does not extend beyond the ninth year. The elementary schools are supported by municipalities. The character of the schools is looked after by government school inspectors. Religious instruction is no longer obligatory. Many schools are supported by the church, in which, of course, religion is taught. There are also many private schools established to serve one or another special end. In all of these the government requirements, which are not onerous, have to be observed. Education is practically free up to the university. Illiteracy is growing less. It is now about 35 per cent and has decreased by about half in the present generation. There are many schools for special purposes, such as art, agriculture, mining, business methods, etc. There are 150 training schools for teachers, with 20,000 attendants. The government does much for musical training. The growth of religious toleration in the kingdom and the added intermingling with other peoples are clearly aiding the progress of Italian education.

Japan. Japan presents probably the most conspicuous illustration in the world of the quick formation and the rapid evolution of a national system of education. In 40 years the Japanese people have passed from a chaotic educational situation to one very definitely, very completely, and very systematically and philosophically organized and administered. Where so much has been done in so short a time there is undue tendency to exaggerate statement and com-

mendation, but there can be no doubt about the spirit and purpose and plan and determination which have accomplished so much being entitled to the most enthusiastic admiration and approval, even though we distinguish the fact that the things accomplished could not, in so short a time and under such conditions, come abreast of the educational progress of some of the older and more democratic nations.

The elementary school system is practically universal, there being 27,000 schools in 1902-3. The attendance of children between six and fourteen is compulsory, and the people in Japan seem to be in the habit of doing as the law directs. In 1902-3 the attendance of both boys and girls was more than 90 per cent of the school population. Comparing this with the situation before the Japan-China War of 1893-94, an increase of 33 per cent in attendance in less than ten years is apparent. The attendance of girls is nearly equal to that of boys. The number of teachers is over 90,000. The schools above the elementary grade seem to consist of a half dozen secondary schools whose function is to prepare students for the Imperial Universities at Tokio and Kioto, and for various art and industrial schools. The universities embrace faculties of law, medicine, engineering, literature, science, and agriculture. In 1903 the number of resident instructors in the University of Tokio was 222 and the number of students 2880. There are many libraries and museums. Education seems not only to be pervasive but very intensive in Japan. The observation of other peoples by the Japanese is wide and keen, and they quickly adapt to their own ends whatever attracts their attention in other lands. The government has been accustomed to send the most prominent young men to European and American universities to be educated, but this hardly seems necessary any longer. However, the diplomatic representatives of Japan are exceedingly and uniformly alert in observing and reporting everything which may prove advantageous to the intellectual progress of the empire, and many special commissioners are sent abroad to study subjects of particular interest to the educational, military, and industrial activities of the Empire.

Perhaps it ought to be observed here that in Japan, as in all governments where the form of government is so extremely monarchical and classes among the people are well defined, some education may be pretty nearly universal while all education is not so. This is much, very much, better than nothing, but it is not all. The system does not open the higher schools to the masses, or at least it does not encourage the child of the masses to seek their advan-

tages. So much is ordinarily true of all nations where classes are distinctly differentiated. But it must be said that the educational system of Japan has at once come to be remarkably balanced and diversified. It expresses the traits and promotes the progress of a people with marked characteristics. The elementary part of the school system is not only universal but, better still, the mighty and conclusive power of the government is exercised to have the elementary schools provide the beginnings of learning to all the children, boys and girls alike. Since 1900 tuition in the elementary schools has been free. The training of the teachers is thorough, the discipline of the teaching force excellent, and the supervision is close and under immediate government control. The methods for enforcing attendance are effective and apparently there is no thought of evasion. This is surely putting monarchial government to its best uses and it is not for us to say that such a form of government exercised for such ends, over such a people, is not quite as suitable as any other.

Great Britain and Ireland. In England, Scotland, and Ireland we have our conspicuous illustration of a people who could set the limits to the power of the king, and establish government by the suffrage and under a constitution, without marked or general educational progress. From the beginnings of English history a small number of high grade universities with a few tributary fitting schools have trained the sons of the nobility, while the elementary education of the masses has been meager, precarious, and lethargic. There has never been before the present generation—if indeed it may be said that there is now—any common school system in England. There have been elementary schools, upon one footing or another, nearly or quite everywhere, and the habit of sending children to school has been general, but these schools have not been under popular control, and they have not led up to higher institutions. They have lacked in self-activity, spontaneity, and aggressiveness. As a consequence the masses have the rudiments of learning, and this, with the strength and balance of the native character, means very much. But the fact remains that because the elementary schools have really had no connection with the schools above, the children of the masses are without educational opportunity and the educational system lacks in national coherency, strength, and elasticity.

Why is this so among such a great people who have done so much for freedom and constitutionalism? No doubt the answer is found in the prevalence of ecclesiasticism, in the measure of control which the Established Church exerts over the learning of the kingdom,

and in the stubborn opposition of churchmen to forms of educational activity which are not at one with the fixed thought, plans, and ends, not of religion but of church organizations. Parliament has been struggling with this subject for generations. As democracy slowly advances to larger power in the parliament house and as the advantages of a free and articulated school system in other countries, and particularly in the United States, become obvious, more and more ground is gained—but the process is a slow one.

In England an act of Parliament passed in 1870 established school boards chosen at popular elections. The independence of these boards was very considerable and, therefore, their adaptability to particular conditions was marked. But by legislation in 1902-3 the local administration of schools of all grades was given over to the county, or county borough, council. Again the application of so much unification as this implies has been relaxed by excepting noncounty boroughs with a population of over 10,000 and urban district councils with a population of over 20,000, which the act declares to be entitled to control their elementary education. In 1891 an act was passed giving to every parent the right of obtaining free elementary education for his children between the ages of three and fifteen and as certain schools still continue to charge fees, the school boards are often put to their resources and ingenuity to find free instruction for all who demand it. Church schools are numerous. The conflict of interests between church schools and board schools, and between the adherents and supporters of each, is frequent, and the whole subject is a continuing source of acrimonious discussion and of unceasing educational uncertainty.

Beyond the elementary schools there are institutions of all kinds and grades. There is no organized system of secondary schools. As of yore the fitting schools for Cambridge and Oxford continue. The overwhelming, if not the fatal, defect in the English school system has grown out of English thought and history. It is that the universities and preparatory schools are to serve the aristocracy, and that any extension of these instrumentalities to the masses will unsettle and unfit them for service to the aristocracy. Accordingly, there is not only no settled and universal school system for elementary instruction, but there is no organic connection between such elementary schools as there are, and such secondary and university institutions as there are above them.

But this has not interfered with, perhaps it has promoted, the development of business and trade and technological institutions.

The defeat of British industrial interests in the competitions at world's fairs in the present generation has undoubtedly served as an impetus to the progress of instruction bearing upon the nation's industries.

A word as to the compulsory features of the English elementary school system should be said. By an act passed in 1876 attendance was first made compulsory and subsequent acts have made the compulsory provisions more stringent. As a general rule it is now obligatory for children from the age of five to the age of twelve to attend school, and they must attend from twelve to fourteen unless they are excused wholly or in part by reason of having passed prescribed examinations, or having attended with marked regularity before the age of twelve. In 1893 the attendance of blind and deaf children between seven and sixteen, and in 1899 the attendance of defective and epileptic children between the same ages, was made compulsory. Parents and guardians are made responsible for the attendance of children within the compulsory ages and are fined for delinquency, and employers who give work to children who are bound to be in school are fined heavily. The attendance laws seem to be very well enforced. Illiteracy is low. Exact data are not obtainable. In recent years only about one man in forty and one woman in forty have been unable to sign their marriage certificates.

No word of commendation bearing upon the historic English art and literary institutions, outside of the schools, which culture thought and give even added substance and warmer color to English character in general, and particularly to the classes liberally educated, is needed here. They are many and great—a good part of the intellectual instrumentalities of the world.

The Scottish school system comes nearer to that of the United States than that of England does. It has come down from the times of John Knox. It undertook to establish a school under a qualified master in every parish and made the maintenance of the same a charge upon the land revenues of the district. The influence of the Scotch Education Department upon all educational activities in Scotland is very considerable. This is the government department which administers government grants in favor of education, which prescribes the general lines of organization, and fixes educational values. It acts through inspectors or others charged with particular duties. The primary schools are general and they seem more often to carry their work into what we call the secondary schools, than is common in England. Coeducation in all grades is

common in Scotland and has been for a long time. The universities are strong and the Scotch character is strong. Many enter the universities from all walks of life. Scotch history supplies the reasons why democracy seems to be freer in Scotland than in England, and the results are obvious enough in the educational system. Still it must be said that the lack of organic connection — of the continuous road — between the elementary and the advanced institutions is obvious enough also, and it is of much moment from the American point of view.

Attendance upon the elementary schools from five to fourteen years of age is exacted, but some exemptions are granted after twelve years of age. The responsibility is placed upon the parents, and the penalties include both fines and imprisonment. In 1890 the attendance of blind or deaf mutes was made compulsory. The sentiment of the people combines with the efficiency of the government to make attendance general, and the percentage of illiteracy is low.

As to education in Ireland there is not a very great deal to be said, but so much as may be said is exceedingly hopeful. There are some Americans who do not realize what great institutions and what fine educational instrumentalities may be found in Ireland. These of course appear in the principal cities and they minister to the higher classes. The poverty of many in the country, particularly in the southern part of the island, is a great hindrance to the universality of the elementary schools. Yet the government grants have become relatively liberal and the determination to enforce the organization of and compel attendance upon the schools has become decisive in the last decade. The Irish Education Act of 1892 exacted the attendance of children over six and under fourteen years of age, but some exemptions are granted to certain children over eleven years of age. It was said with authority in 1902 that the compulsory provisions of the act were being satisfactorily enforced by committees in 131 different places. The general average of attendance is low but steadily improving. The government grant for primary education in Ireland for the financial year ending 31 March 1904 was £1,000,000 sterling. It may be said rather confidently that whatever work is done is as a rule very well done, and that the sentiment of the people touching education is steadily improving and highly promising.

If this article laid any claim to being a history, or even a very exact description of national systems of education, it would be necessary to go into an examination of the British influence upon

the intellectual life of the colonies and dependencies of the nation. It would be a profitable and perhaps a fascinating study. In several directions, particularly in Canada, Australia, and India, it would have a somewhat significant bearing upon world education. It is obviously impossible to enter this broad field at this time. But it must be said that wherever the flag of Britain has been raised, there schools have quickly resulted, and there order and system have led speedily to the generation of intellectual energy and to the diffusion of learning. Kipling's poetic reference is not without sufficient reason:

They terribly carpet the earth with dead
And before their cannon cool
They walk unarmed by twos and threes
To call the living to school.

France. There is a very completely organized and a wellnigh universal system of education in France. It has developed with marvelous rapidity since the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. It is hardly too much to say that it resulted from that war. In a great measure it did, but other contributing causes must not be lost sight of. It is an autoeratic and in some ways a mechanical system, but it is autocratic and mechanical because of the necessities of the situation. It is a system which knows much of the history and philosophy of education and which puts to its uses the courses and the processes which the most enlightened educationists believe to be of the most worth in raising the level of a nation's intellectual and industrial capacity. It is not free from the incumbrances and hindrances peculiar to the political and religious history of the French Republic, but it seems to be freeing itself with truly spontaneous energy and elasticity, and the process has already gone so far that the danger of arrest or of retrogression has been practically eliminated.

The educational system of France has been marked by exactness, and the work it does is characterized by completeness. The state controls all. The Minister of Education is the autocrat of all things in the French schools. The differentiation of schools into primary, secondary, and higher is not only rigid but desirable. Next to the minister there is a director over each of these subdivisions of the school system. These officers are aided by inspectors. The educational policies result very largely from a higher council, a dignified body of leading educators, which meets twice a year under the presidency of the Minister of Education. The members of the coun-

cil are appointed for four years. There are 60 members. Thirty are professors and representatives of the advanced schools. Six are chosen by officers of primary education. Four, who represent private instruction, are appointed by the President of the Republic on the recommendation of the Minister of Education. Five are elected by the *Institut de France* from its own membership. Nine councilors appointed by the President of the Republic and six designated by the Minister of Education constitute the "permanent section," which meets once a week. With some appropriate division of authority and responsibility, these bodies lay out the educational plans of the Republic and exercise very decisive control over the satisfactory and complete enforcement of those plans.

The teachers in the public schools must be of French birth and must meet the requirements fixed by law. The private schools are subject to government inspection and direction. A naturalized citizen may be authorized by the minister to teach in a private school, but the exclusion of foreigners from even the private schools seems severe. There are more than 100 normal schools for training teachers, which practically supply all the teachers needed, and the system for examining and certificating teachers is elaborate and exacting.

The inspection of the schools is systematic and close. There are general and local inspectors in large numbers. The average is something like one inspector for 200 teachers, but by the increase in inspectors the number of teachers to an inspector is growing smaller. The inspection districts vary in size. The supervision of the normal and technical schools, of the manual training, and of gymnastics and military exercise is somewhat accentuated.

Coming to the schools themselves, it may be said that they exist everywhere. They are classified about as follows: (1) the mothers schools for children from two to six years old, (2) the lower primary schools for children from six to thirteen, (3) the upper primary schools and complementary courses annexed to the lower primary schools for children who have completed the work in the latter schools, (4) the manual training schools, with courses at least three years long, which receive pupils from the primary schools and develop technical, aptitude, completing the instruction of the elementary schools for pupils apparently destined for industrial life, (5) classes for adults and apprentices where the instruction has practical reference to the trades.

The elementary schools are free, even the books, paper, pencils, ink etc., being generally gratuitous. Even more, food and clothing

are sometimes provided. The expenditure for elementary schools is very large.

The work is generally excellent. It rests upon a philosophic basis and relates very decisively to the artistic tendencies which are always liberally present in the French people, and to manual dexterity. All the usual branches are well covered, with apparent emphasis upon drawing, work requiring the use of tools, the household arts, and music. Of course the outcroppings of militarism are often manifest. The branches which are simply culturing without manual labor are not neglected. The equipment of the schools, particularly in the cities, in apparatus and implements seems to be very abundant, and it is said that much of this is made by the pupils.

The aids to the life of the schools are very many. Libraries, art museums, musical institutions, are numbered by the thousands, and mutual aid societies, asylums for the unfortunate, and reform schools are too numerous to be treated with any detail.

The secondary school system is apparently attaining rapid development, but it is yet immature. The universities are many, strong, and yet growing stronger. So far as the writer can see, there is lack of articulation between the lower and the upper schools. It seems to be closer between the lower and the middle schools. Certainly the greatest emphasis is thrown upon the primary schools.

Primary instruction is obligatory upon all children between six and thirteen years old, unless in a particular case a child who is over eleven years of age is exempted by reason of his proficiency duly established. The instruction may be in a public or private school or in the family, but apparently the fact and quality of it must be indubitably established. Complete lists of children are continually maintained, and all upon the lists have to be accounted for. People in France are compelled to do things and they have got in the habit of it. Fifteen days before the opening of the school term the parent or guardian must notify the mayor of the commune whether his children of the attendance age will go to the public school, or to a private school, or be instructed at home. If the notice is not given the child is enrolled in the public school and the parent advised. Then the public school authorities must report on him. The only excuses accepted for absence are the sickness of the child, a death in the family, and some accidental and temporary break in communication. The penalties run against the parent or guardian, are sufficient, and the procedure is regular and as a matter of course. The percentage of illiteracy is not unreasonable and is improving. It is about one in sixteen, which, in view of the

really recent origin of the French school system as now rated, is not unsatisfactory.

The criticism which will occur to an American concerning the school system of France will relate to its *rigidity*. It seems to be the idea that the same thing must be done everywhere, and at the same time, and in the same way. There is lack of allowance for differences in local conditions. All children seem to be put through the same processes. The teachers are trained under a system which is exactly uniform. The freedom of the universities does not act upon the elementary schools. There is little local color through local freedom in organization and administration. The people themselves are without the advantage of administering their own schools. There are doubtless some advantages and some disadvantages in this. It is not a matter of election. It is a matter of history, of habit, of accepted understandings, and of outlook. The French system presents an extreme. Another extreme is presented in some of our American states. Very likely the golden mean is between the extremes.

Switzerland. There can be no treatment of the educational system of Switzerland, which is both brief and exact. The country determined upon a universal system of primary schools nearly a century before England took that step. The obstacle to a brief description is in the fact that each of the twenty-five cantons has its own organization, and there is not much legislation of general application to the whole country. The Confederation makes free primary education compulsory, but leaves the limits and details to the cantons. The Constitution forbids the employment of children in factories before they are fourteen years old, with the further provision that in the fifteenth and sixteenth years the time given to work, to the "continuation schools" and to religious instruction shall, taken together, not exceed eleven hours per day. This is important in view of the continuation and evening schools, at the latter of which attendance is often compulsory. The federal Constitution also requires all boys between ten and fifteen years of age to be instructed in military drill and attendant exercises.

The primary schools are nonsectarian. The different cantons are somewhat distinguished by differences in national descent and in church tendencies. Both the Evangelical-Reformed Church and the Roman Catholic Church are recognized by the state, but the instruction in the primary schools is secular.

There are six universities, at Basel, Zurich, Geneva, Fribourg, Bern, and Lausanne, with foundations from 1460 to 1832. There

are excellent academies at Freiburg and Neuchatel, and a strong polytechnic school at Zurich. The country is not at all lacking in libraries, art museums, and other stimulating incentives to learning. The different parts of the educational system seem to be correlated. The republican form of government gives an air of freedom to the whole which is not common in Europe.

The system for insuring the attendance of all children within the general ages from six to sixteen, with immaterial variations in the different cantons, is substantial and effective. The sentiment of the country supports the schools with remarkable universality. Illiteracy is practically unknown. Switzerland furnishes an excellent example to Europe of what a small republic can do for law and order and self-enlightenment as a people, and for individual opportunity, industry, and happiness.

Netherlands. The Dutch educational system seems to have maintained a very uniform growth from the dark days in the latter part of the sixteenth century, when the nation set up not only common schools but universities in celebration of the military victories over the Spanish in the first really great and prolonged war for religious freedom, which almost unconsciously led into political freedom as well. The system now embraces schools of every kind and grade, including good secondary, technical, and normal schools, and four state universities, which are ancient in origin and much regarded. Since 1857, and particularly since 1878, the instruction in the primary schools has been undenominational. Attendance has been obligatory since 1900, and the people who can not read or write are about one in forty of the population. The expense and management of the schools are divided between the general and the state governments. Institutions bearing upon the agricultural and mechanical industries are by no means lacking, and fine libraries, museums, and architecture, evidence, while they aid, a substantial and assiduous people.

Denmark. The educational system of Denmark diffuses throughout the kingdom a grade of learning very well suited to such a people. Primary schools are common but not free, except to the poor. Attendance is compulsory between the ages of seven and fourteen. Illiteracy is almost a negligible quantity. The established religion is Lutheran and it embraces almost the entire people, but other denominations are tolerated. Denmark seems to excel in secondary schools. Technical and professional schools are common. The country is essentially agricultural, and the fact is plainly discernible in the strong points of the educational system. At the

head of the system stands the University of Copenhagen. The Royal Library at Copenhagen has 500,000 volumes and is exceptionally rich in original manuscripts. There are two other public libraries in the city. Matters are managed very exclusively by the state, and the level of intelligence and thrift seems high.

Norway. The primary school system of Norway seems to reach all of the people effectively. It embraces a seven year course suited to children from seven to fourteen years old. It is a national system; is free, and attendance is compulsory. The distinguishing feature of the elementary school system seems to be a class of "ambulatory schools," which are moved about from place to place in the thinly settled districts. Beyond the primary schools the towns have superior schools of all grades and kinds. There are six teachers seminaries. At the head of all is the Royal University at Christiania, founded in 1811. The state religion is Lutheran, but all denominations are tolerated.

Sweden. There is practically no illiteracy in Sweden. The statistics show less than one illiterate in a thousand of population, and so much is said to arise from a few Finns in the extreme north. Of the conscripts in the army in 1900, 69.8 per cent could read "fluently," and 30.2 per cent "fairly well." This tells the story of the national system of education. Probably no country in the world gives more exact and persistent attention to education than Sweden is now giving. The Common School Statute of 1897 requires at least one primary school in every district. Where large enough, at least two grades of instruction are maintained, viz, an infant school for beginners and a common school proper for the more advanced pupils. In the former the instruction is arranged for two, and in the latter for four years. Attendance is, of course, compulsory. It must be from seven to fourteen years of age. The responsibility is upon parents and guardians, and the school board is by law bound to see that the obligation is fulfilled. If children are deficient of the required knowledge after passing the ordinary time in school, they must continue until they can meet the state's requirements. No obstacle—not the sickness or poverty of parents, not even the need of their labor to earn the family bread—is allowed to come in the way of every child being required to possess the elements of learning. If necessary, the child is given to the care of others and the expense forced from the parent or guardian.

The state pays exceptional attention to the defectives—the deaf, and dumb, and blind. This training is compulsory, also. Deaf and

dumb schools are established on a large scale, and the state bears the expense. This extends not only to the defectives, but also to the disabled.

The trend of education in the country seems toward training every boy and girl to read and write, to attend to household duties, and then to make useful things with his or her hands. The obligatory subjects of instruction are religion, the Swedish language, arithmetic, geometry, geography, history, natural science, drawing, gymnastics, gardening. The expenses are borne by national grants and local taxes.

Secondary schools also form a part of the public school system, and a national university at Upsala exercises a very considerable influence upon the whole. The system is ancient, substantial, and comprehensive.

Germany. For the long established, territorially extended, philosophically organized, capably directed, thoroughly accepted, and notably efficient, national system of education in Europe we must go to Germany. And if we were to undertake the exact study of any one system of German schools we must go to that great leader which embraces much more than half of the territory and population of the twenty-six German States which comprise the German Empire, established by the peace with France in 1871—*Prussia*. This is not saying that the Prussian school system is better than any other in Germany; only that it is the oldest, the largest, the most comprehensive, and, therefore, the subject of the most interesting study.

The laws of the Empire provide for primary schools in every city, town, and village. As a result there are something like 60,000 of these primary schools, with 125,000 teachers and over 8,000,000 pupils. These schools are supported by some local rates and by much government aid. Parents are compelled to send their children from six to fourteen years of age to a primary school. One of the strongest points in German life is the very nearly universal and thoroughly established habit of sending the children to school. Compulsory attendance has been in operation for sixty-three years in Prussia. It is much for a mighty people to assume by common understanding that none but an imperative cause is to keep a child from school a single day when he ought to be there, and that nothing whatever is to be allowed to rob him of his right to an elementary education. This is apparently the case in Germany, and as a consequence the rate of illiteracy is diminished almost to the vanishing point.

Kindergartens are common in Germany, but are ordinarily if not invariably carried on by private enterprise.

"Continuation schools" are provided for the children of the working classes who want to do more work than is provided in the primary schools. They provide courses for two and three years and their work runs into trade instruction.

The regulations touching primary schoolhouses in Prussia illustrate the national estimate of the importance of educational details. Of course there are many buildings which were erected before the modern regulations were deemed necessary, and such regulations are not always enforced in Prussia, but they are quite suggestive enough. The building is to be erected in a sunny and dry open space, away from the most used streets. In the cities the interior of the block is preferred. Quiet is imperative. Good water is sought. Playgrounds are demanded. If the building has more than one story the youngest children have the ground floor. In building anew, provision must be made for enlargement. Every detail of construction is specifically treated. Use of new buildings is prohibited until thoroughly dry; in stone and brick buildings six months is allowed. The size of rooms is regulated; even the shape of rooms is regarded. So, too, is the size, form, and location of doors and windows. Heating and ventilation are specifically treated. The width and length of halls and the width and height of stairs are specified. The form and situation of desks; the height, width, and depth of the platform upon which the teacher's desk stands, and the need of hooks and pegs for hats and coats are all set forth.

Of course a national system which regards all these small matters touching the school accommodations, with reference to the health, eyesight, and convenience of teacher and pupils, can not neglect the details of the courses pursued or the sufficiency of the instruction; and it does not.

Secondary schools are found everywhere. Their work is varied but leans toward the classical, the culturing, the professional, and their line of cleavage is quite clearly a social one. Provision is made for the secondary education of girls as well as of boys.

Then follows a large variety of advanced special schools, such as schools for defectives, academies of forestry, polytechnics, schools of agriculture, of mining, of architecture, of art, and of music. There are more than 250 normal schools for training teachers.

Above all the rest there are 21 universities, some of them with just reputations which have attracted students from all parts of the

educational world. In 1900 there were 2800 teachers and 34,000 students in these universities.

The fundamental and distinguishing characteristics of this mighty system of education may perhaps be enumerated as follows: (a) the full and regular attendance of children of school age; (b) the habit of uniform obedience to the state's authority; (c) official exactness concerning the quantity of work to be done in each grade of schools; (d) uniformity in the work of each grade, with 42 to 45 weeks of work in a year; (e) the fact that each grade of school leads to something beyond, to work as much as to higher schools; (f) that the "something beyond" is suited to whatever manner of life the child is likely to lead; (g) the adequate preparation of the teachers, the exclusion of immature or unprepared teachers, the certain tenure of teachers, and the consequent dignity of the teacher and his work; (h) the inspection of private teaching and the assumption of entire responsibility for the education of the country by the government; (i) the apparently open opportunity for all, accompanied by a marked contentment with one's situation and a readiness to do what is reasonably within the reach of one's station in life; (j) a very considerable evenness of educational instrumentalities and opportunities in all parts of the Empire; (k) very many heights of scholarship which are not outranked by any in the world; (l) deep and common civic responsibility for the character of the schools.

In the work of German schools the ordinary work in American schools is included, but special emphasis is laid upon physical exercise and militarism, upon drawing and manual skill, upon needlework and other domestic arts, and upon music. Everything is done to nourish love for the Fatherland. The portrait of the Emperor is required to be displayed in every schoolroom. The national songs are sung often and well. The accomplishments of the nation are well told. Everything is done for contentment, for scientific scholarship, for industrial productivity, for military efficiency, for the happiness, oneness, strength, and greatness of the German Empire.

Mention of the important fact that religion is a vital part of the primary school curriculum of Germany must not be omitted. Whether the child goes to a public school or a private school, or is instructed in the family, the state demands that he be instructed religiously. If the school be one of Protestants, Roman Catholics, or Jews, the master must see that the religious instruction conforms to the religious preferences, and whoever gives any

instruction, including the religious, must have the authority of the government behind him. If the schools are mixed religiously, the instruction must accord with the beliefs of the greater number; perhaps in some cases the dogma and doctrine are somewhat mixed, too; more likely the religion is not so theological as some would make it. The clergymen are in a sense representatives of the state. The greater number receive a considerable part of their salaries directly from the state. They have been educated in the different grades of the schools, including the divinity schools of the universities, and are easily adaptable to the needs of German religious education.

In view of the purely nonsectarian character of American public schools and of the frequent discussion of religious training in this country, it is interesting to notice how the German law treats the matter. The following are among its provisions: The character of the religious instruction is determined by the father. Where the father and mother are of different denominations an agreement made before marriage to train the children in the religion of the mother has no legal effect. On the death of the father the instruction must continue in his faith and no deathbed conversions to a different faith are recognized. On the death of the father the court must attend to the matter. Children born out of wedlock must receive religious instruction in the faith of the mother. After fourteen years old children may decide for themselves as to the denomination they will affiliate with. Before fourteen no denomination is allowed to receive a child or permit a confession of faith other than that to which the child belongs by law.

The reader needs no assurance that a people doing so much for schools of every grade from the kindergarten to the university has accumulated many and great aids to information and culture outside of the schools. We know it would be so and that it is so. The libraries, museums, art galleries, architecture, palaces, mausoleums, and monuments of the Germans fittingly augment and round out their system of education, but obviously we can not enter upon even a partial description of them here.

Comparisons with the United States. The extended treatment which has been given to various phases of the American educational system in this department makes any general presentation of our own system unnecessary in this place. But I can not forbear observing that it is clear enough that there are some advantages and some disadvantages with us when we come to compare ours with other systems. Such comparison may be hazardous, but I shall

venture to express the thought that in regard for details and in a commonly exercised and accepted power to regulate them; in the appreciation of the necessity of universal and regular attendance of all children within fixed ages; in training for specific industries and common employments and in promoting contentment; in realization of the bearing of the work of the advanced schools upon the lower ones; in providing for the philosophical and exact preparation of teachers; in dignifying the teacher's position; in fixing educational values and in avoiding erroneous estimates of scholarship and culture in the affairs of the people, and particularly in determining the policies of the government of the nation, there are foreign systems of education which have claims superior to the corresponding claims which may be made on behalf of the American system.

On the other hand, it seems to me that in the adaptability of schools to agricultural, and particularly to pioneer, conditions; in such general inclusion of high schools, and now of state universities in the public educational system; in the steady correlation and solidification which is going on between all grades and kinds of institutions; in the continuous road from the lowest to the highest, and the encouragement which is given every ambitious child of the people to follow it; in balancing state and local control and in developing so much and such efficient local supervision; in the cheerful generosity by which the public schools are supported, and the monumental munificence with which private schools are established and maintained; in the fulness of religious toleration and the cordiality with which all classes from all peoples are working together for learning; in the elasticity and flexibility of the whole system, the freedom of its opportunity, the aggressiveness of its spirit, the granduer of its outlook, and the measure of its accomplishments and of its confident expectancy; in the ripeness of its scholarship at many points and the tendency to diffuse and absorb scholarship at all points; in the growing regard for the implements and results of scholarship and the unlimited determination to have whatever will aid learning; and particularly in the popular administration of the system, the universal sense of proprietorship, and the retroactive influence of this upon the buoyant intellectual and moral sense of the nation, we have educational advantages which are enjoyed by hardly any other people.

WHAT THE WOMEN'S CLUBS MAY DO FOR THE SCHOOLS

ADDRESS AT THE STATE FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS, TROY, N. Y.,
OCTOBER 30, 1907

I shall use no part of my brief time in the commonplace pleasanties which easily come to the surface when a man speaks of or to the Women's Clubs. I look upon you as the representatives of substantial women, who have organized for intellectual self-improvement, and are anxious to be useful to the towns in which you live and to the State of which you are justly proud. Your committee has asked me to tell you what an educational officer of the State thinks you can do for the schools. Most of you have attended the schools; many of you have children who have been, or are, or are to be, in the schools; and all of you know how vital the schools are to the town and to the State. Not doubting, therefore, the sincerity or the intelligence of your request, and well knowing how very potent your well directed efforts may be, I respond to your invitation with very great pleasure and shall endeavor to aid you with all plainness of speech.

In the first place, do not lose sight of the fact that all public undertakings in which both sexes are concerned will be better managed through the cooperation of both men and women. Their qualities supplement each other. If school boards were to be made up exclusively of women they would be no better than when composed exclusively of men, and probably, in general, not as good; for women are not, upon the average, as well adapted to public administration as men, and experience shows that after the novelty of the first admission of women to such boards wears off, the women who are less adapted to such places seek and secure places upon them. I have no objections to women in school boards, and there are many women whom I should much prefer to many of the men who are in such places, but it would be a false pretense, of which I should be ashamed, if I should tell you that you could help the schools by contesting elections and insisting upon sharing the responsibilities and the publicity often incident to membership in administrative boards. If you will use your influence to secure the election or appointment of decent and capable men on school boards, and if you will insist that boards, however composed, shall honestly

and completely perform their duties, you will accomplish more than you will by contending for the election or appointment of women thereto.

School boards often require prompting, and even insistence, from the outside about things which will need to be done. Public officials find it very easy to perform duties to which no one objects. It is very comfortable to receive the honors of a position without undertaking the things which require time, exactness, knowledge of the law, and courage, and which stir opposition and acrimony. There are not many vicious boards of education, but there are a great many which need to be told of things that need to be done, and ought to be called to account for leaving them undone.

The temperaments, tastes, and experiences of women lead them, very often, to see those things more clearly than men do. They can be exceedingly helpful in getting them done if they will go about it rightly. This is often so, law or no law: it is certainly so if the law intends that the thing be done.

All schoolhouses should be clean and sanitary, well lighted and ventilated. The housekeeping standards of women are higher than those of men, but none too high. You may be assured that whatever you may do to have and to keep the schoolhouses of your town clean and decent will be appreciated. If they are not so, put it up to the trustee or the board of education bluntly and publicly; and if you get no relief, publish your complaint in the newspapers; and if the appeal to local sentiment fails, write the Education Department to the end that an inspection may be ordered and such directions given as may be necessary.

Without any law or any official action you may hang pictures in the schoolroom and do many other things to make it attractive, warm the soul of the teacher, and cultivate the tastes of the children.

The law requires that every child under fourteen years old, and every child between fourteen and sixteen who is not at work, shall be in school whenever the public schools are in session. The trustees and boards of education are required to know of all such children in their districts and towns and to see that they are in school. Nothing, not even poverty, or the need of the labor of the child, or the wishes of the parents, is allowed by the law to deprive the child of an elementary education. Yet many a child is being kept from it. The percentage of illiteracy in the State of New York is many times greater than in Britain, or France, or the German Empire, or Switzerland, or Scandinavia, or Japan. Anything that you will do to support or force school officers to exact the complete attendance of

all children of school age will be a substantial public service. If they refuse after their attention is called to a specific case, you may be sure of help from the Attendance Division of the State Department.

You may help the elementary schools, at least, by opposing any more additions to their work before something is taken out. They are overloaded. I am not saying that the schools have been wrong in responding to our complex, present day life, but I have no hesitancy in saying that one enthusiast after another has added something to the work of the schools until, too often, we do not do what we undertake to do as well as it ought to be done; and yet the children are permitted to think that they know more than their parents do, when they are wholly without absolute knowledge and wholly unable to do anything with exactness. If you will resist further demands upon the lower schools and insist that their work be simplified and drilled in more deeply, you will aid in training boys and girls for more easily doing the work of the upper schools, or for earning a living if they do not go to the upper schools at all.

You may help great numbers of children, and your country as well, if you will join in a movement to overthrow the prevalent idea that success in life depends upon being lawyers, or doctors, or dentists, or engineers, or captains of something or other; if you will lead them to know that the greater part of them will be more useful and happy through working with their hands; and if you will aid in providing public schools, following right after the elementary schools, where the skilled vocations are made a reasonable offset for the literary, scientific, and professional work of the public high schools and of the colleges and universities.

You may help the schools by helping the teachers. You may help the teachers by being considerate and by sympathetic conference, quite as much as by criticism or by exacting special attentions which they can not give. The teachers of the elementary schools are all women, and are in nearly every case conscientious, often overconscientious. You will give them help and get help from them by inviting them into your clubs and by showing them the social attentions which they well deserve. Educational exactions which have been put upon them for twenty years, and the innumerable other vocations which have opened to women, have combined to make legally qualified teachers scarce. Yet the pay is small, often much too small, for the service rendered and the present day cost of living. Teachers ought not to be left to the necessity of asking or agitating for the support which is imperative to decent living. You may help

the teachers and help the schools by standing for such advance of salaries as will respond to the reasonable demands of the situation.

You may aid the schools by assuming, and if necessary by insisting, that no man who is not a gentleman and no woman who is not a gentlewoman has any right to have anything to do with managing or teaching in them. You will not be wrong if you reason that the men and women of the schools ought to have the qualities that will appeal to the better feelings and command the respect of the people; and you will be doubly right if you insist that people who can not appreciate the good qualities of a teacher shall not be allowed to humiliate a teacher because she is moved by the gentility which is vital to the schools.

I make no mistake when I say that the teachers want the help of womanly women, and the school system will welcome the cooperation of women's organizations. Yet I must remind you that every public school is only one unit of a general system of education; that its character and procedure can not be easily changed; and that you must be pretty well acquainted with the history and philosophy of that system, you must enter into its experiences and share in its purposes, before you can hope to be of substantial service in reshaping and recasting it for the better. On the other hand, let me say that if you do know that history and philosophy, if you have had experience, if you do know the difficulties, and if you are moved by rational impulses, there is no reason whatever why you should not take an aggressive course in making the schools better than they are; and even if some cherished cups and saucers should be broken there would be no permanent reason for crying about it.

You will not misunderstand me, I am sure, if I tell you that both men and women are needed in the schools, above the elementary grades at least, and you will be wisely aiding the educational system if you withhold your influence from any movement calculated to lessen the number of men who are teaching. The number is already much too small and it would be to the advantage of the schools if it could be much enlarged.

You may help the schools by insisting that they shall never be a football of politics. The man who makes political patronage of appointments in the schools is, perhaps ignorantly but none the less effectually, an enemy of the schools and a curse to the people.

If you are specially interested in the public schools you may help them by a friendly attitude towards the private schools. If you have alliance with the private schools, you may aid them through cordial relations with the public schools. We ought to know by

this time that no kinds of schools can thrive through a management which is narrow, exclusive, conceited or mean. Meanness defeats itself generally: it does with entire certainty in education. If you are specially concerned about one grade of school,—whether it be a primary school, a secondary school, a college, a professional school, or a university, you will serve it best by knowing the work and cultivating the acquaintance of all other schools. The educational system is knitted together and the strength of each of the parts depends upon the relations which it sustains to all the rest.

I take the opportunity of saying that the State Education Department will be glad to be of all practicable assistance to the Women's Clubs. Remember I was obliged to use the qualifying adjective *practicable*. There is more that we can not do than that we can. But we may do something through our traveling libraries, and through our standard pictures, and through our facilities for affording information. Very possibly we may be of service to you about many intellectual movements not related to the schools, but it is more than likely we may aid you in any rational efforts which you may make for the betterment of the schools.

In a word, I look with much satisfaction upon the expression of the purpose of your organizations to be the protectors and helpers of the schools. They are at the very center of your natural field. Be not afraid. Avoid sudden impulse. Look upon all sides. Be as judicial as a woman can. In any event, keep going ahead. It is not in you or such organizations as yours to do much harm. It is in you to do great good. Be assured of my wish to act in cordial and mutually helpful cooperation with you, and also of my appreciation of the courtesy which affords the opportunity to say so.

